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DOMINE DIRIGE NOS

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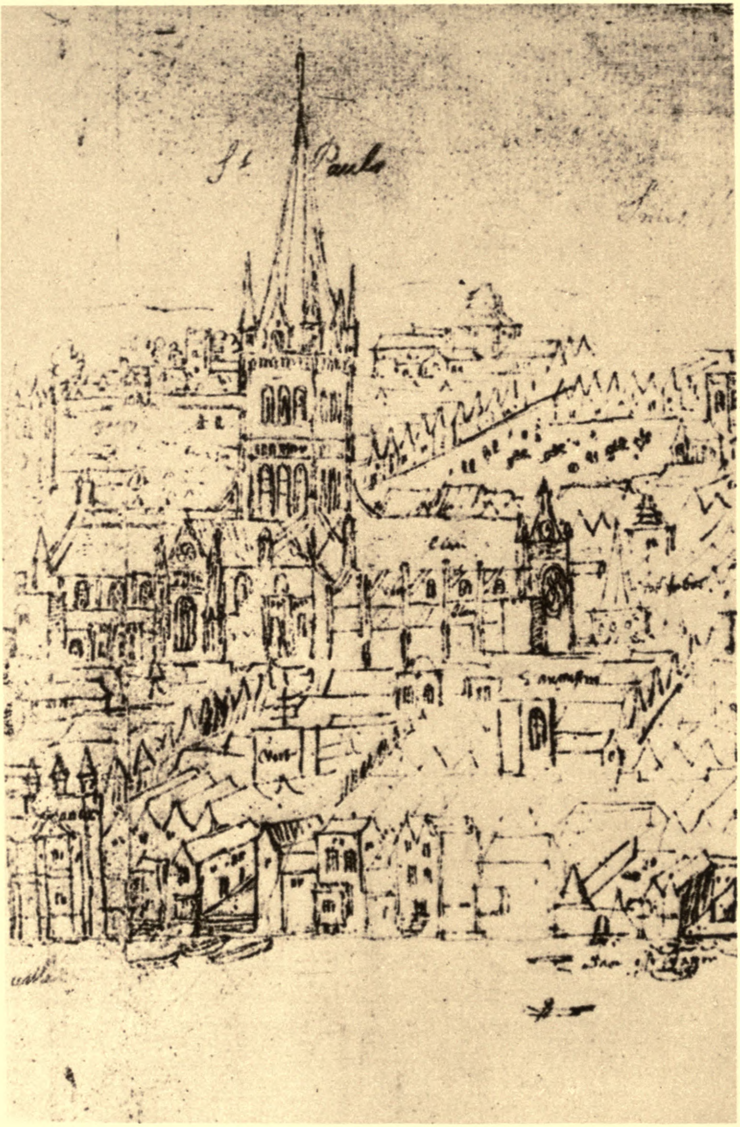
LONDON



OLD ST. PAUL'S, about 1550.
From Anthony van der Wyngaerde's View of London.

LONDON

BY

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PREFACE

This is the third book on London which I have attempted during the past six years. In the *Governance of London* (1907) I dealt with a newly discovered aspect of the question of origins; in the *Making of London* (1912) I attempted to apply the results of this study to the evolution of the city; in the present book I deal independently with a part of the subject which is only incidentally touched upon in the two previous books, and I lay claim to have discovered the great fact of historical continuity, conscious and effective continuity, underlying the main issues of London life throughout all its changes. The continuity springs from the city-state of Roman Londinium, is carried through the hundred years of historical silence, is handed on to the London of Anglo-Saxon times, proceeds through the great period of Plantagenet rule, runs deep down under the preponderating mass of Tudor and Stuart changes, and comes out in the open when the Georgian statesmanship broke away the blocking forces.

The continuity thus revealed is not unchanging throughout the centuries. Each age modifies its form; or rather its form is modified by the different forces which have constantly worked upon it. The ideal of continuity comes from Roman London and from Roman Augusta, and it has never lost touch with the realities. Each age has possessed the feeling for continuity, has expressed itself in terms belonging to itself. It is only the terms which have altered. The Plantagenet rulers of London did not express their sense of continuity as the Tudor or the Stuart rulers of London expressed theirs. The material was different, but the undying ideal was always the same.

At certain epochs this ideal has been repressed and smothered for a time, but it has raised its head once and again; and certainly down to the Georgian period it was strongly persistent. I believe that it still exists, that though it is once again repressed and smothered it is there strongly working towards its destined use, ready to hand when once it is clear that the moment for it has arrived.

The value to the history of English institutions from a close study of London is very great. It sets up a standard of comparison both with local and national institutions, and it throws considerable light upon the evolution of the state. Scholars have been too apt to approach the study of English institutions in terms of their latest historical condition, instead of in terms of their earliest condition, and it is only when we come to deal with the facts which arise out of the comparative method that we can see the false issues which arise from this treatment of the subject. London in relation to England was in the earliest period outside all that Anglo-Saxon polity could hold. Its existence and its continuance were never parts of the English settlement of the country, and it is because the non-English elements of London are so prominent that we are able to define the special position to which it attained in that settlement. London was never a city of the English, but it became a city-institution under English dominance. This is a vital distinction, and because it is possible to make it, the facts on both the London side and the English side can be classified and arranged in distinct groups—groups having relationship one to the other, but so dissimilar as never to have merged. The merging of London into early English institutions is, in fact, an unthinkable proposition, for they nowhere meet on common ground.

I am aware of the opposition to such a point of view. Coming from the schools which have so long been dominated by the sweeping generalities of Freeman and his followers, it is an opposition not easy to meet. Because Stubbs on purely scientific grounds, and Freeman on historical grounds, have proved, and I think successfully proved, that the English conquest resulted in the dominance of English government, language, and life generally, it is not necessary to conclude that in no spot in Teutonic England did pre-English life exist or reveal itself. Because history is silent it is not necessary to conclude that no other evidence exists—that both historical survival and traditional survival have no value. The value of both is greater far than has ever been recognised, and it is the recognition of their value which has made my own study possible.

To have studied London to the full is to know that London tells her own story, and that no one can tell it for her. Whatever credit may come to those who act as scribe, it is after all a small thing, for the inspiration is drawn from the great city itself. It is true that the story I have to tell differs altogether from that hitherto told, but it is impossible for it to be wrong on that account. It includes whole masses of material which have hitherto been ignored, and though the proportions due to the inclusion may not be always exactly measured perhaps, the foundations of the edifice are perfect. This makes it quite impossible deliberately to twist London history or to change it in any particular direction. A mere bundle of ancient things brought together, as in a museum, for the curious may be used in such a way, as we see from Loftie's book, but the glory of quarrying in so magnificent a field of research brings to student and reader the glory of a London instinct with life, and a great life.

I have two apologies to make.

Perhaps it would have been more scientific to have commenced from the argument side of the subject, and therefore with the fourth chapter on survivals, working back from them to the actual remains of

Celtic and Roman London. Survivals are stubborn things to get over. They do not exist without the strongest cause for existence, and that cause resides in the originals from which they owe their beginning. I thought, however, that the chapter would be better in its chronological order, so that the argument should rest upon historical rather than anthropological methods. The structure of the book being historical, its order should be historical, but the reader would do well to consider the general position from the point of view now suggested.

I have also one word to say about the tradition of London. I could not omit this from my evidence, and I could not complete it. It will make a book by itself, and I hope to publish it soon. It is an important element in London history, and has been entirely neglected. I trust that the summary I have given in the text will suffice for immediate purposes. I am sure the completed study will satisfy many that the position I take up for London is historically sound.

Both the publishers and myself have to acknowledge with many thanks kind permission accorded us by the following to make use of illustrations :—

The Society of Antiquaries of London, to reproduce from *Archæologia*—the Altar to Diana; Matronæ; Retiarius; and a portion of Braun and Hogenberg's plan; from an engraving, "Edward VI. giving charters to Bridewell and Bethlem hospitals."

The London Topographical Society, to use their reproductions of the views of London by Agas, Wyngaerde, and Visscher.

The Royal Geographical Society, to use from their Journal—Hollar's view of London Bridge; map of Southwark; the Fleet near Bagnigge Wells.

Mr C. Bathurst, to use illustrations from *Roman Antiquities in Lydney Park*.

Mr E. E. Newton, to use a selection from his collection of pictures of London.

And I must thank Mr T. F. Hobson, for so kindly obtaining for me Mr Wood's charming drawing of Wittenham Tump and directing the artist's attention to the best view for the purpose of my argument.

LAURENCE GOMME.

Long Crendon, Bucks,
March 1914.

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LONDON

CHAPTER I

THE POINT OF VIEW

LONDON has always been something more than what is included under the nominal or ordinary positions she has held in the country throughout the ages. She was something more to the Celts than a great stronghold on the Thames. She was something more than a city of the Roman Empire, absorbent though that position was. She was something more than a city-institution thrust in amidst incongruous Anglo-Saxon institutions; more than the capital city of Norman and Plantagenet England; more even than the awakened head city of commercial England under the Tudors. She was more than a walled city of the Commonwealth, or than a pleasure city of the Stuarts; something more, too, than the government centre of the Guelphs. She is now something more than a city without a city's organisation and unity. But she is not, and perhaps has never been, understood; neither historian nor citizen has realised the greatness that is London.

It is the something more that matters—matters so greatly; and I shall hope to show in these pages how it matters. History will help us only indirectly. The real appeal will lie outside the realm of history. The historical fact, priceless as it is, is not the whole story of any event. Chronicle is not history. It is historical material only. There are motives and causes at the back of every event. There are results and influences following from every event. And motives, causes, results, and influences are essential to the understanding of the recorded fact. There is, too, the mass of unrecorded fact which has to be reckoned with, where we see results and influences only, apparently detached from their causes. All these considerations lying outside the historical record provide the setting and the proportions of events which have happened, and sometimes they are of even more importance than the record itself. We are indeed never taken to the beginning of things by means of history. It only records their continuance. Historians discuss beginnings, history never does.

In trying to understand the point of view presented by London, it is necessary to bear all this in mind. We have to gather together its principal characteristics, and then to inquire—are they subordinate or ruling characteristics? do they govern its position in all the main issues? do they pronounce for a position in the nation of special influence and importance? are they the product of London herself or are they endowed powers from a sovereign authority?

In answering such an inquiry we find that at no time in her history is London concerned with merely civic functions. We shall find that her civic organisation is stretched in every direction to meet needs that are national, to perform functions that penetrate very far indeed into the national politics of successive ages. The stretching does London no harm. As soon as the occasion has passed, it resumes the normal course of events belonging to the times. We shall find in the mediæval period that the most prominent note is the control of the individual by the community. In trade and commerce, in all dealings with his fellows, in the performance of any act which operates in the open, the individual Londoner obeyed custom in most things, and force where force was necessary. The community was inexorable—inexorable on the whole for well-doing as this age would interpret the term well-doing, but inexorable always in its own estimate of what well-doing was. This great force must have existed behind mediævalism in the earlier ages, just as it continued beyond mediævalism into the period when the communal hold was breaking, and when it had broken; the dominant spirit bursts out on all great occasions, and London citizens are seen obeying the traditions of their city. In this way London always appears as a great city, and a great city is not created. It creates itself from all the influences which have worked through its life, and London never loses sight of these influences.

Rome, the greatest of all examples, never lost sight of, never wanted to lose sight of, her beginnings. And London has never, in reality, lost sight of her beginnings, however she may have obscured them at times. The question of beginnings is indeed the key to all later history, and in this connection the point will recur over and over again as to whether there is a parallel, even a slight one, between London and Rome. Extension beyond city life is the basis of such a parallel.

In the meantime we have to settle the true conception of events. London is not the product of one age, but of several ages, and those ages not necessarily in progressive touch one with the other. The chronological sequence of the ages has little or nothing to do with the history of London. What has to do with it, and to a very great degree, is the continuity of history within London itself. History does not come to London in patches and from outside. History belongs to London from within, and forms one continuous stream. London retains in each successive age that which is useful from the past in meeting the new facts of life which arise; and it adds to the old that is retained, the necessary fresh elements which go to make up the successful grappling with new problems coming with new eras. The point of view which matters most in this connection is the element of continuity—continuity of thought, action, and policy. The factor which goes to make this continuity of practical value is the altogether surprising capacity to adapt and add to the ancient continuous life ever fresh elements, which turn out to be of like character and of equal force to the elements already in active existence. In this way London never loses touch with itself. It was at one period very nearly losing its touch with the nation, when Alfred, with a stroke of political genius, brought it again into the nation. It was in danger at one or two other crises under the Plantagenets of striking out too far on a course of its own. But in the end we shall find that London is always in touch with its past, is always capable of calling upon reserves of power or of policy which answer for every emergency. To take one most remarkable illustration: its organisation for defence. When occasion demanded, it assumed the position of a city in arms. This was in strict accord not only with the privilege but with the duty of the Roman cities of the Empire.[1] It was as a city in arms that it attacked Hengist and Æsc at Crayford; thus it met the attacks of the Danes; thus it took its share in the great struggle at Hastings under its own sheriff, Ansgar; it was under this influence that King Stephen mustered the men of London and that a section of the army of the barons in 1264 was composed of Londoners; that the well-known gathering under Wat Tyler took place at Mile End; that the organised forces of the city under Henry VIII. were gathered there according to "ancient custom"; and that the city in arms marched to Newbury, led to battle by the city chiefs. We shall deal with each of these events in its place, but in the meantime there is to note that when the emergency arose in the lifetime of the present generation the old spirit was revived, if not the old method, and London answered to the call on the south African veldt. The continuity in this instance is remarkable, and it is quite obvious. Modern Londoners never asked why the city of London should send its own contingent to south Africa. They acquiesced with a silent pride in the act. They unconsciously felt it was in keeping with the ancient customs of the city. The city itself probably did no more than this, and the silent obedience to the unrecognised force of historical influence provides the historian of London with a master-key which will solve many a problem in the story we are going to see unfolded.

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[1] Mr J. S. Reid deals with this feature of Roman city organisation in his *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 301.

The military was, however, if not the least, certainly not the most forceful factor in London polity. The strategical importance of the city, from the fateful events of A.D. 61 to the days of the Civil War, was always recognised, as Mr Belloc has so usefully shown in his *Warfare in England*—recognised by the Roman military system, by the great Anglo-Saxon kings, by the Danes, by William the Norman, by the later military commanders during the Wars of the Roses, and during the Civil War. But this immense importance did not twist its greater destiny for one moment. That destiny comes to us along the stream of time, and it is not military.

With the element of continuity, and with the accretions at different stages as they were needed, London finally takes the position of an English institution, a city-institution, but an institution distinct and separate from the ordinary city organisation. In truth, it stands by itself, not to be classed as one, even the greatest one, of the cities and towns of Britain, but to stand out against them as an institution developed from the circumstances which surrounded her.

London never compares with York, Winchester, Colchester, and the other cities. She is right out of range. None of these cities has the political importance of London, and none of them has the civic organisation upon which the political importance is based. The point of view presented by the full evidence of London leads us not to any sort of comparison with other English cities, but into a field of inquiry of wider extent and scope, that field of comparative politics whereby London enters into the city influences of early times, the influences which settled the relationship of an organised progressive civilisation to a pre-national system of polity inherited from the cradle of our race. London is not a city battling for pre-eminence with other cities. She is a city battling for city civilisation against tribal civilisation, and against state dominance. She wins in the great struggle, wins gloriously, and proceeds to take her rightful place in the nationhood she helps to create.

The break-up of the communal power, coming with the break-up of the feudal government, is the biggest change London has ever experienced. Saxon incoming, Danish conquest, Norman control, left London with her own ideals. Tudor changes affected the ideals. Commercialism stepped into the breach created by the broken communalism. Fed at first by the splendid imagination of Tudor statesmen and Tudor captains and adventurers, fed in Stuart times by economic forces which came only gradually to be understood, it was a disruptive force. Even then London did not lose her touch of continuity, and we have constant peeps into the older ideals whenever the city government found itself up against the State government. On such occasions London always fell back upon her most ancient city ideal. Then she once more resumed touch, definite and conscious touch, with her past. Such episodes stand out in her history quite plainly, and they carry on the older life of London close up to modern days, certainly to the Georgian period, when we see the great city entering into parliamentary politics as of old she entered into sovereign polity, proclaiming always the ancient ideal. And what is so fascinating throughout all these phases of history is this persistent element of continuity. The means of attaining the end changes, but the desired result is always the same, the control by the city government of city affairs for the good of the city and its citizens, and the identification of city affairs with rights which were inherited from the city of London when it arose from the ashes of Roman ruin as a city-state of Britain.

This point of view is held by no historian of English events and institutions. Two historians, Henry Charles Coote and Frederic Seebohm, have endeavoured to prove an almost complete national and racial continuation of Roman civilisation, and a continuation of the Roman system of agriculture and agrarian landholding. I distrust both these conclusions.[1] Roman civilisation certainly ceased in Britain with the Anglo-Saxon conquest, but amidst the wreckage there is evidence, I think, to prove that London was enabled to continue its use of the Roman city constitution in its new position as an English city, and that by this means it attained its unique position. This element in English history has never been considered; moreover, it is overlaid by other points of view. Unfortunately, these are tinged with that false conception of history which denies to historical continuity the great force which it naturally possesses. Communities do not lightly give up their history. They may misapply its recorded facts, redate, and therefore misdate, some of its chief events; they may transfer from the personages of one age to those of another age acts and doings which are of supreme importance in their proper place, and which become mischievous in any other place; but they do not surrender easily either the surroundings or the influences of earlier ages. The modern historian often fails to understand the force at the back of history, and he will seek for causes in every direction except that of continuity of historical influence. He will discover contemporary origins for quite ancient factors, and, apart from his scornful denial of the influence of tradition in keeping alive survivals from the past, he will deny the influence of the historic sense which helps to the same end. It is possible, of course, to carry the doctrine of historic survival too far. It is not possible, I think, to exaggerate the importance of its operations within definitely limited areas.

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[1] I discussed Seebohm's views at the Folklore Congress in 1891 (see the *Trans. of the Congress*, pp. 348–356), and I have not seen any reason to alter my views.

There are also historical prejudices. It is necessary to refer to these because historical research into British institutions is only in its infancy, and has to do battle for quite elementary principles. It has to meet the backwash from the pre-scientific period of historical research, a period which ignored, because it did not understand, archæological evidence, and misused the evidence of tradition so grossly as to make it almost impossible now to make good the claim of tradition to be used at all. Druidism in false relationship to Celtic worship; the cult of Baal as an explanation, based upon no scientific facts, of certain very ancient rites of tribal and household worship; Celtic civilisation as the product of national instead of tribal organisation, are the chief results of the misuse of tradition for over a century. They were disastrous results, for the reaction against these rightly discarded conclusions has affected modern scientific inquiry. Palgrave, Kemble, Freeman, Green, and Stubbs will have nothing to do with the traditional survival, and at the hands of these historians we have to consider points of view which, on whatever grounds they are formed, have at least this common feature, that they do not take in all that is historical in London. Each authority deals with bits of history, not with the whole of it.

Palgrave has the widest range, and, while recognising a position for Celtic London, assumes the destruction of Roman London. "In tracing the decline of the British power it would afford a landmark if we could ascertain when London, which always preponderated over the other cities of the island, was lost to the Britons."[1] Kemble approaches from an earlier period, and argues that "Cæsar says indeed nothing of London, yet it is difficult to believe that this was an unimportant place even in his day," and then goes on to argue with great clearness and conciseness that London, with all other Roman cities in Britain, ceased its existence.[2] Freeman is far more drastic. "The English town, the English *port* or borough, is a thing wholly of English growth, and nothing can be more vain than the attempts of ingenious men to trace up the origin of English municipalities to a Roman source"; and though he admits "the greatness of London," points out its special power in the election of sovereigns, and refers to its special legislation under Æthelstan and Æthelred, there is no sign that he appreciates the true value of these facts.[1] There is no sign, indeed, that he appreciates what he recognises so fully, the unnoted history of the sixth century.[2] Bishop Stubbs' view is dominated by his conception of the Teutonic organisation, which left London at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period "a bundle of communities, townships, parishes, and lordships of which each has its own constitution"; and although he grants it, with York and some others, "a continuous political existence," he points out that these English cities "wisely do not venture, like some of the towns of southern France, to claim an unbroken succession from the Roman municipality."[3] It is only when we come to John Richard Green that we arrive at a really new factor from the historian's side. He shows descriptively that London, the great military stronghold of London, if it fell to English conquest, fell after a hundred years of almost independent existence; and he fully admits the force of the fact that no record and no evidence remain of its capture or surrender. Yet even Green denies to Londinium any place in English history.[1]

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[1] Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 414.

[2] Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. pp. 266 (and see note on p. 267), 291 *et seqq.*

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[1] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. v. pp. 465–467.

[2] Freeman, *Western Europe in the Fifth Century*, p. 143, for an appreciation of the vacuum in English history.

[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 404, 62.

The conclusions of the great historians do not, however, cover the whole ground of possible events. The Romans left Britain in A.D. 410. The last mention of London before that event was in 369, and the first mention after that event was in 457. It would be unsafe to argue that between 369 and 410 London was otherwise than a Roman city in a Roman province. Ammianus Marcellinus supplies the earlier date when he records the renaming of the ancient city of Londinium by its new name of Augusta.[2] There is the note of success in the historian's words, a success which looked forward to a future when the ancient city of Londinium would justify her new name of Augusta. From 410 to 457 is only forty-seven years, and the record of 457 is as distinctly against the probability either of destruction or desertion, as the record of 369 has proved to be. It comes to us from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. "Here Hengist and Æsc fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crecganford, and there slew four thousand men; and then the Britons forsook Kent-land and in great fear fled to London." London, therefore, sheltered the beaten army, and must have been in its full strength for the purpose. If the hundred years of silent history is to be fixed at 457-560, as Green apparently argues,[1] events do not help his conclusion. None of them tells for destruction. Collectively they tell for active organisation and life, and individually, even if the latter point is rejected altogether, they tell for active organisation. Green fixed his last date, 560, by the progress of Anglo-Saxon conquest, but the next historical dates after 457 belong to the early seventh century, and are very confusing. In 604, says the *Chronicle*, "Æthelbert gave Mellitus a bishop's see in London"; and Beda records of the same year that London was the metropolis of Sæberct, king of Essex.[2] In 616 we are told that "at that time the men of London, where Mellitus had been before, were heathens." Evidently events were moving, but they do not appear to be more than phases in the struggle for the sovereignty of a conquered district which should include London. There is no word as to the conquest or the ruling of London itself. The king of Kent and the king of Essex, each in his turn, added it to their kingdom. They would not have struggled for a destroyed city. They claimed it as an asset in their cause, and the terms of the claim, "metropolis Lundonia civitas," are sufficient to discount the argument for destruction.

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[1] Green, *Making of England,* pp. 98–111.

[2] Lib. xxvii. cap. viii., and xxviii. cap. iii.

There is another argument. That the successive conquests of the country by Anglo-Saxon, Dane, and Norman means also continuous occupation of

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[1] *Making of England*, p. 109.

[2] Beda, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. ii. cap. 3.

London through the changes is certain in the two last cases. The only difficulty that arises is in respect of the Anglo-Saxon, and this can be met by an historical parallelism. The Danes were kept out of London until London accepted them as overlords. The Normans were kept out of London until they entered by agreement, William treating with Ansgar the great sheriff on terms almost of sovereign equality. This great parallel means a continuity of policy and power, and it seems to me to be an absolute denial of historical influences not to allow such a parallel to cover the earliest as well as the two latest of the three occasions.

This leaves an independent, unknown existence of a hundred years which has to be reckoned with. It is a period devoid of recorded history, but full of history nevertheless. It has much to do with what will be said in the following pages. It belongs to London, and to London alone, and though it was a troubled and anxious period, there is room in it for the birth of a very wide range of facts which lifts London history out of touch with the history of other Roman towns of the period in Britain.

This period contains one factor of supreme importance, the tradition of London—a tradition which illustrates the passing of London from the position of a city of the Roman Empire, connected by roadways to the mother city of Rome, to the position of a city-state in Britain disconnected from all outside states or state governments. The new position needed tradition to help it on its way. All cities have their traditions — Athens, Rome, Paris, Bath, Caerleon, Silchester, York — and the extent to which tradition works itself into the city life is the test of much that cannot be recovered from any other source than tradition, of events, indeed, which history has wholly neglected. It is perfectly idle to neglect these traditions. They, at all events, are the beliefs which citizens worked into their lives, and upon which they built much of their later history. That London, by the mere fact of continued life, has become separated from her earliest history is most true. That she has lost touch with her traditions is not true. They contain just that impact of truth, just that kernel of substantive fact, which will enable the scientific inquirer to discover the lost threads which connect broken periods. Tradition is fed by the feelings of generations of people, not by the emotions, the exultations, or the disasters of a moment or even of a period. And the strongest feeling to generate and to keep tradition alive is the feeling of love for the object of tradition.

There has always existed a feeling of love for London—by its citizens and by the country. The love of citizens for their city, as it has been so often expressed in song and narrative of modern times, as it was so wonderfully recorded in the twelfth century by the historian of King Stephen's reign, is carried back by tradition to the far older and interesting period of Roman London. Geoffrey of Monmouth preserves in the story of King Lud the traditional love of

London, "Albeit he had many cities in his dominion, yet this did he love above all other"—and this links on with recorded history in that interesting passage where Tacitus, the first historian to mention London, tells how there were inhabitants of London in A.D. 61 who stayed behind to face the storm with which Boudicca threatened them because of "their attachment to the place." This love of London, continuous from the earliest ages, bursts into expression whenever Londoners have become aware of their great city, and we shall come across periods when this becoming aware of London has played a great part in contemporary events. It will play a further part yet once again.

The London which will in this way come under review in these pages will, it is obvious, not be a complete London. The story will be one of events, not of places, one of special events, not all events. It will relate to one side of London only, but a side which, although the greatest, has been neglected and denied and scouted. It needs to be emphasised. In attempting this, details which would assist the argument, and nearly all which might be held to resist the argument, will be omitted. This is a necessary sacrifice to space. But omissions such as these do not affect the main point. They would divert the stream of argument at various points and compel consideration of the means to bring it back again. But they would at no stage break up the argument. There would remain the strong element of continuity underlying everything. London begins on a great note of dominance; she proceeds through the ages on the same note; she finishes within sight of modern days and in touch with modern politics on precisely the same note. And that note, unbroken in its force and its direction, commands the historic setting of all the periods and all the changes.

It will be gathered from this that the problem of London's history is a matter for argument as well as of record and evidence. The history does not begin all over again, with a new first chapter, when successive conquerors of the country have succeeded in their efforts. It is the question of continuity from one of these stages to the next which is so necessary to be considered, and if possible solved. It has hitherto not even been considered. Dealing with or thinking of London in bits is of no use whatever. To get at the heart of it we can only consider it as a great city with a great history. The task before us is by no means easy; no less than the linking up of modern London with ancient London of all periods; but it is worth the doing.

I shall work through the elements of continuity in all their aspects. I am going to assert that there was so definite a Celtic conception of London that it, in a special and comprehensive sense, influenced the position of Roman London; and that when Roman London was freed from the sovereignty of Rome this Celtic influence asserted its dominating force and helped to make post-Roman London a primary institution of the country. I am going to assert, further, that Roman London, thus influenced, in its turn dominated the inner working of mediæval London, and in essence dominates modern London, first in the silent general feeling of protection for the ancient city, and then in the survival of the powers of action, never removed by the state, still residing in the government of the city. I am going to assert still further that mediæval London obtained much of its power by adding to its old life the necessary mediæval forces, and that it was the great glory of mediæval municipal statesmanship to have recognised these two agencies as correlative influences from which London would gain new positions which, as it proved, strengthened and consolidated its powers and duties. I am going, finally, to assert that even when breaking away in Tudor, Stuart, and Georgian days from almost the whole of her communal life, she still carried on her main position of a city with attributes of a city-state derived from her original position as a Roman city. London is in every sense of the term a city of two great empires—shall we say one of the connecting links between two great empires?—the Roman and the British. To ignore this great position is to ignore the keynote to all London history. The proof is contained in the long line of continuity from Roman London to modern London, and it is this continuity which is the main subject of this book.

CHAPTER II

CELTIC ORIGINS

It is necessary to state quite definitely that London was originally a stronghold of the Celts, because this fact has been denied by some authorities and minimised by all, and it is an essential beginning to her history. There are not only material evidences of such a beginning, but the total evidence accounts for some portion of her Roman history, and almost entirely for her post-Roman history before the Anglo-Saxon domination.

London is known by her own Celtic name, and possesses two other Celtic names of importance, Lud and Belinus, both of these latter adding, by reason of later uses, the Anglo-Saxon suffix "gate." There is dispute among philologists about the meaning of London as a Celtic name-word, and about the derivation of Belinus, but there is no question about Lud. It is a recognised god-name of the Celts of considerable importance; Belinus may also be a god-name, but of minor importance.[1] This series of Celtic names gives us a Celtic stronghold and a Celtic religious cult, a combination of two factors in the earliest history of London which cannot be overlooked and should not be minimised, and which in reality form the centre points for whatever evidences of Celtic London remain to us.

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[1] Belenus, Belinus, or Belis was one of the greatest Celtic gods and identified with Apollo. He was mentioned as a god of the Gauls by Tertullian (*Apolog.*, cap. xxiv.) and Julius Capitolinus. *Cf.*

The site is the first consideration. The point to note is that it has been an occupation-ground of peoples from the earliest known times of human occupation of distinct territory, that is, during the palæolithic age and the neolithic age, as the discoveries of implements of these two ages abundantly show. This is evidence sufficient to prove the capacity of the site, and it would have been strange indeed if the Celt had neglected it. He did not neglect it. All over the kingdom such sites have been occupied by the Celts, and the remains of their occupation have formed an important chapter in archæological research. The presence of the Celt in the surrounding area is shown by place-names and by ethnology. The names of Walworth in the south and Isledon (Islington) in the north, together with Caen wood, are the principal philological items. The ethnological data consist of a strongly marked island of brunetness just north of London. Two counties, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, are as dark as Wales, and "all investigation goes to prove that this brunet outcrop is a reality." It is entirely severed from the main centre

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Herodian, lib. viii.; Pritchard, *Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 186. Nennius, § 19, mentions a Bellinus, son of Minocannus, as a king of Britain (see Notes to the Irish Nennius, p. xxiii).

of dark eyes and hair in the west by an intermediate zone, and the people in this vicinity are very much shorter than those who surround them. The explanation, says Dr Ripley,[1] is simple. The fens on the north, London on the south, with dense forests, left this zone of population relatively quiet, and they tell us now of the Celticism of the district round London.

To these sources of evidence must be added that of the early geography of London, which exactly fits with the description by Cæsar of the position of a British oppidum. Although so well known, the passage from Cæsar is worth quoting. When stopped at the Thames, "he learned from envoys that the stronghold (oppidum) of Cassivellaunus, which was protected by woods and marshes, was not far off, and that a considerable number of men and of cattle had assembled in it. The Britons apply the name of stronghold (oppidum) to any woodland spot difficult of access, and fortified with a rampart and trench, to which they are in the habit of resorting in order to escape a hostile raid. Cæsar found that the place was of great natural strength and well fortified."[2] This exactly describes the position of Celtic London, how exactly may be measured by the geographical research of J. R. Green.[3] This conclusion is not only the initial proof of the existence of Celtic London, but it goes far to disprove the generally accepted view that Verulam was the oppidum of Cassivellaunus. Cæsar would not have proceeded to Verulam with such a stronghold as London behind him, and the geographical contrast between London and Verulam gives sufficient reason for presenting such a problem. London occupies a strategical position similar to that always adopted by the Celts. Verulam is at the foot of a commanding position, and does not answer to anything Celtic. The conclusion seems irresistible that London and not Verulam was the stronghold which stood the shock of Roman conquest when Cæsar took the oppidum of Cassivellaunus.[1]

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[1] Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 322–3, 521–2.

[2] *De bello Gallico*, lib. v. 21 (Rice Holmes' trans.).

[3] Green, *The Making of England*, p. 98, and the map on p. 99.

Much has been made of the fact that London was not a colonia of the Roman Empire as were Lincoln, Colchester, York, and Gloucester. Whatever this may indicate from the Roman point of view, it certainly adds to the evidence of the important position of London in Celtic Britain. Professor Reid puts it very clearly: "The treatment of London by the Romans is an unexplained anomaly."[2] The anomaly to be explained must first be understood, and I think it can be shown that the only reasonable explanation is derived from the Celtic side of the question and not from the Roman. Roman law and government have been assiduously studied from the side of Roman history, inscriptions, and charters, and only very slightly from the side of the native peoples who were absorbed into the Empire. It is on this side, the Celtic side, that the anomaly of London can be explained.

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[1] This view was held by General Pitt-Rivers, *Anthrop. Rev.*, vol. v. p. lxxviii, and Mr Lewin, *Archæologia*, vol. xl. pp. 65–6. On the other side is Mr Page and the Berks Archæological Society (see *Trans.* of that Society, vol. xiv. pp. 245–250).

[2] Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 229.

The only titles which are applied to London in Roman historical documents are oppidum and civitas,[1] and finally it received the new name Augusta, sharing this name with Treveri, the greatest of the cities of Gaul. There is no defined Roman status in these titles, and we can only conclude that it was one of those municipia civium Romanorum, a community of the self-governing type to which Mr Hardy has introduced us.[2] Aulus Gellius gives an illuminating distinction between the municipium and the colonia: the former was taken into the Roman state from without, the latter was an offshoot from within;[3]

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[1] Coote, *Romans of Britain*, p. 345, quoting Eumenius in his panegyric of Constantius Cæsar and the record of the Synod of Arles.

[2] Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, vol. i. pp. 36, 145. So early as the Lex Agraria of B.C. 111 we have colonies, municipia, and "towns in the position of municipia or colonies" (Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

[3] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xvi. cap. 13. *Cf.* Festus: "Municipium id genus hominum dicitur, qui cum Romam venissent, neque cives Romani essent, participes tamen fuerunt omnium rerum ad munus fungendum una cum civibus Romanis, præterquam de suffragio ferendo, aut magistratu capiendo; sicut fuerunt Fundani, Formiani, Cumani, Acerrani, Lanuvini, Tusculani, qui post aliquot annos cives Rom. effecti sunt. Alio modo cum id genus hominum definitur, quorum civitas universa in civitatem Romanam venit, ut Aricini, Cærites, Anagnini. Tertio, cum id genus hominum definitur, qui ad civitatem Romanam ita venerunt, uti municipia essent sua cujusque civitatis, et coloniæ, ut Tiburtes, Prænestini, Pisani, Arpinates, Nolani, Bononienses, Placentini, Nepesini, Sutrini, Lucenses."

the former represents the inclusion in the Empire of a more or less free population, governed by tribal institutions in the western Empire and by city institutions in the eastern, the latter was founded upon the settlement of Roman legionaries upon a conquered territory from which the original inhabitants were deported. London was definitely not a colonia. It was no doubt in the position of a municipium.

Now this condition of London in "the position of a municipium," but not formally recognised as such, exactly meets its several positions: as a great military centre adapted from the oppidum of the Celts; its rapid rise to a great commercial centre under the government of the Romans; and its final status as a specially named city of the Empire, Augusta; and I can therefore think of the Roman status of London as never recognised constitutionally. The question thus raised is undoubtedly complicated and not altogether certain owing to lack of evidence. Britain to the Romans was ever a province that required keeping in order and not a country to care much about. "Supposing I begin thinking about the island of Britain," writes Cicero, "will its image fly at once into my mind?"[1] Certainly the differing conditions obtaining under the Empire in Greece, Africa, and Spain should cause us to pause before accepting the merely word-value of Latin diplomata. Rome always allowed a certain amount of independent development.[1] It was one of its greatest political assets, and just as Lugdunum, where the Celtic Lud was worshipped, obtained quite an exceptional status,[2] so I believe London, where also the Celtic Lud was worshipped, attained to an exceptional status. Formally it came under the Lex Julia Municipalis, as did "all municipalities of Roman citizens wherever and whenever coming into existence";[3] actually it retained much of its older influence as a British oppidum. It is thus that the Celtic side of Roman London is revealed by the scanty historical evidence which exists, and when to this are added the results of the study of the tradition of London, which reveals at every stage its Celtic origin, the story is much more complete and consistent.

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[1] *Cicero's Letters,* No. Dxxx. of Shuckburgh's translation, vol. iii. p. 175.

Cinerary urn of the late Celtic period found in London, in the Guildhall Museum.

We next turn to the question of the occupied site. Sir Christopher Wren discovered British graves below the Roman level, distinguished by their remains.[4]

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[1] Reid, *Municipalities of Roman Empire*, p. 127.

[2] Hardy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 152.

[3] Hardy, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 116.

[4] Cinerary urns and other pottery of late Celtic period are preserved in the Guildhall Museum (see *Catalogue*, pp. 19–22).

There is some dispute as to the accuracy of Wren's classification of these remains, but my rediscovery in the library of Mr Saull's original discovery of remains of the hut circle of the British on the virgin soil of London, which he inspected and visited on several occasions during excavations for sewerage in Cheapside, cannot be disputed.[1] General Pitt-Rivers discovered remains which he considered, with his wide experience and minute care, to be relics of pile dwellings on the banks of the Walbrook river.[2] Mr Reginald Smith, investigating the course of Roman roads, insists upon the strong evidence some of these reveal of having been constructed on the site of British trackways leading to and entering London.[3]

Vase of late Celtic period found in London, in the Guildhall Museum.

There is thus philological, ethnological, and archæological evidence of Celtic London. The remarkable thing is that it exists at all. It comes from London's remotest past, protected by the working of successive ages, but also hidden by the ages. Not sufficiently hidden, however, to prevent the recognition of a tribal stronghold such as still remains in other parts of Britain, as, for instance, at Maiden Castle near Dorchester, where the tribesmen of the Celts constructed their defensive works for protection against tribe enemies of their own race, and, as they thought, against enemies of an imperial race which in due course overran and crumpled up their tribalism.

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[1] I have dealt with this important and neglected piece of evidence in my *Making of London*, p. 38.

[2] *Anthrop. Rev.*, vol. v. p. lxxi, and accepted by Dr Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, pp. 460–464, and *Ancient Scottish Lake Dwellings*, pp. 291–296.

[3] *Vict. Hist. London*, pp. 1–42.

There is, however, something nearer home than the examples of the great Celtic strongholds still surviving in remote parts of Britain, and we find it in the Thames valley of to-day, where the position occupied by the site of Celtic London is pictured for us in miniature. Coming up the Thames by sail or by steam, in the wide lagoon formed by the shallow waters of the river in the lower reaches there is presented a sight which in the earliest period must have been much like what was presented as far up as London. Travelling by the railway, one first recognises the higher land-sites rising from the Essex Flats on the banks of the lagoon waters. Westcliff is the first example. Pitsea, Laindon, and other places follow, their natural conditions being still undestroyed. At Prittlewell there are still remains of an entrenchment, the enclosure being situated on rising ground and of somewhat oval shape; at Tilbury there is a fosse with a broad bank on its outer side formed by the ridge of a steep hillside, rising abruptly above the Thames valley. London was only another such example as these, occupying,

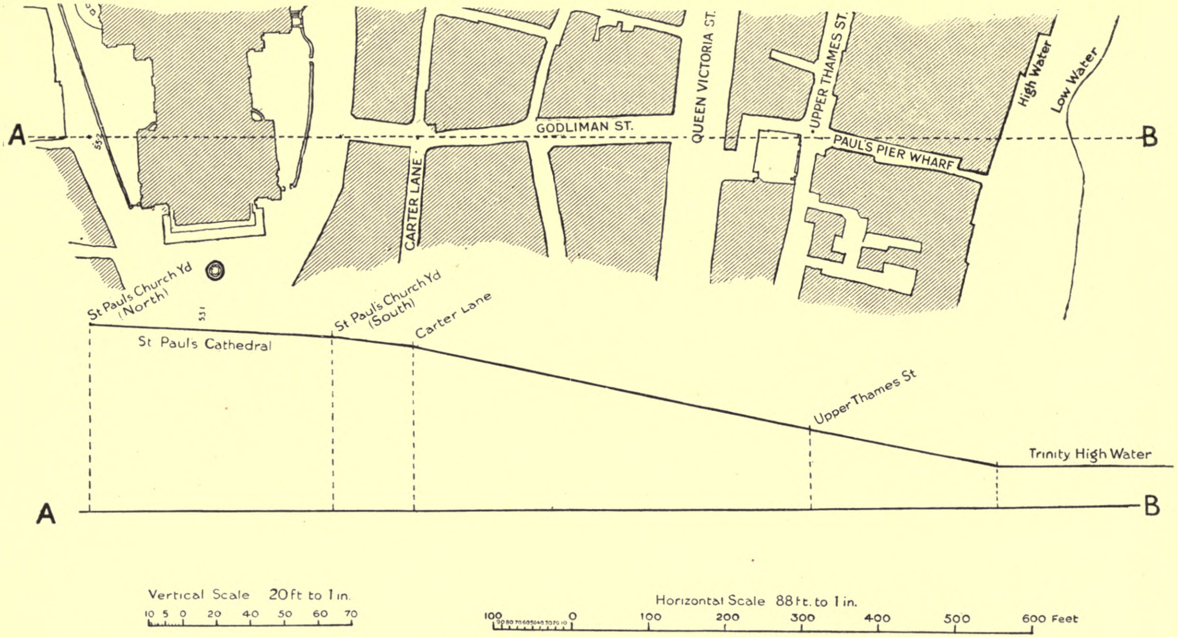
A
B
GODLIMAN ST.
QUEEN VICTORIA ST.
UPPER THAMES ST.
PAUL'S PIER WHARF
High Water
Low Water
CARTER LANE
552
St Pauls Church Yd (North)
551
St Paul's Cathedral
St Paul's Church Yd (South)
Carter Lane
Upper Thames St
Trinity High Water
A
B
Vertical Scale 20 ft to 1 in.
10 5 0 20 40 50 60 70
Horizontal Scale 88 ft. to 1 in.
100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 Feet

Diagram showing height of St Paul's Cathedral above the level of the Thames.

however, a more strategical position, and commanding one of the river crossings. (See Appendix I.)

Interesting as these examples are, they do not give an adequate idea of the London stronghold. They are too much in miniature. Fortunately we can turn to examples above London which represent closer parallels to London. The most important of these strongholds is that of Long Wittenham, to which Mr Haverfield has added other examples at Appleford and Radley.[1] Of Wittenham, Sir Arthur Evans writes: "The round hut circles of the Britons are seen before our eyes, yielding to the rectangular buildings and enclosures of the later Romanised inhabitants."[2] And according to the best authorities there is certainly no site in the country which more fully satisfies the conditions usually found present in British centres.[3] Close to the junction of the Thame and Isis, it is precisely the kind of spot that was chosen by all Celtic races for their chief settlements. The hut circle floors consist of very thin stones, and the superstructure was of wattle and daub, fragments of which have been discovered.[4] There is no questioning the evidence which these facts afford. The Thames below London and the Thames above London contained Celtic strongholds on the heights which commanded the river, and it is impossible therefore to

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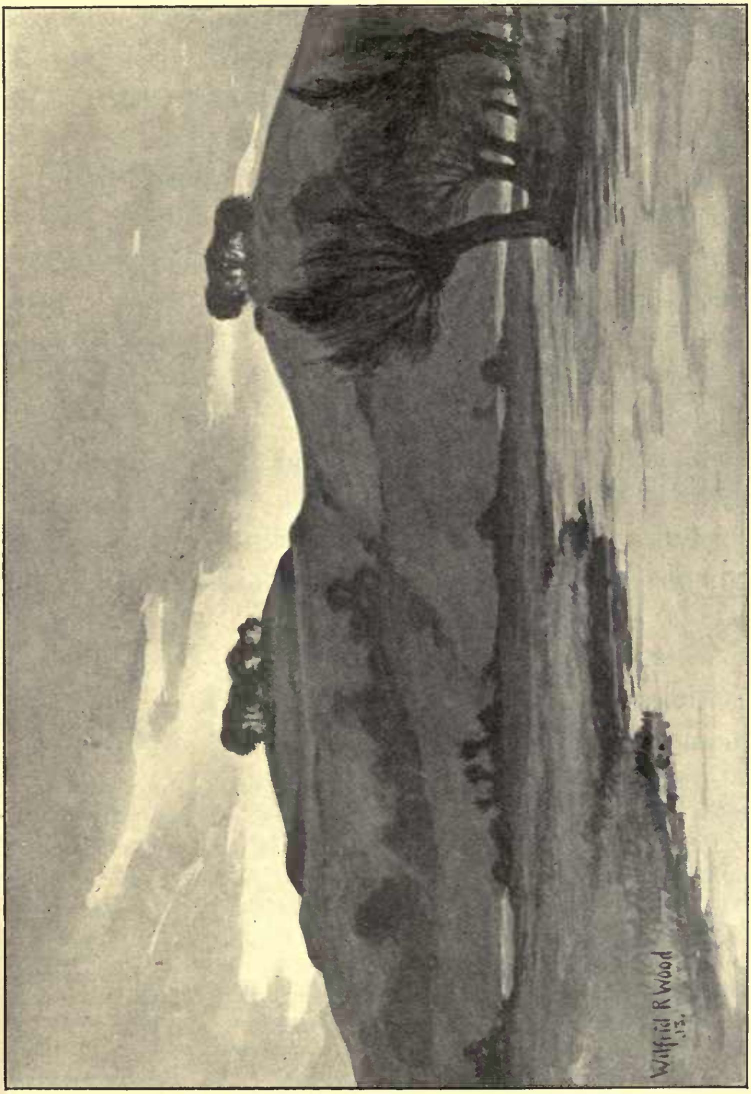
[1] *Vict. Hist. of Berkshire,* vol. i. pp. 197, 219–222.

[2] *Times,* 18th Sept. 1893.

[3] *Times,* 30th Sept. 1893.

[4] Dr Haverfield's account is in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser. vol. xviii. pp. 10–16, with a most useful map.


Wilfrid R Wood
'13.

Wittenham, Berks, from a sketch by W. R. Woods.

imagine that the London height was not similarly occupied. Celtic London was not only a stronghold formed out of the natural conditions of the site, it was a defensive position necessary to the settlers on the northern side of the Thames lagoon.[1]

It may be, after the researches of Dr Philip Norman and Mr F. W. Reader,[2] that the conclusions of General Pitt-Rivers as to pile dwellings in the Walbrook will have to be given up. But it does not appear to me that the evidence for the Roman system of drainage is necessarily evidence against the pile dwellings. There is ample room for both drainage and pile dwelling in these discoveries, and there is still one important fact to get over—the existence of so many human skulls without any remains of the rest of the skeletons. These, at all events, cannot be of Roman origin. On the other hand, they may be of Celtic origin, owing to the Celtic practice of taking the skulls of defeated enemies and hanging them as trophies in the dwellings of the conquerors—a practice pretty generally found among the pile-dwelling communities.[1] The point is obscure, and if it is ever cleared up it will be accomplished by the skilled observations of such workers in this field as Dr Norman and Mr Reader. If their view turns out to be the correct one, it clears away some of the Celtic evidence of London, but it does not destroy it altogether.

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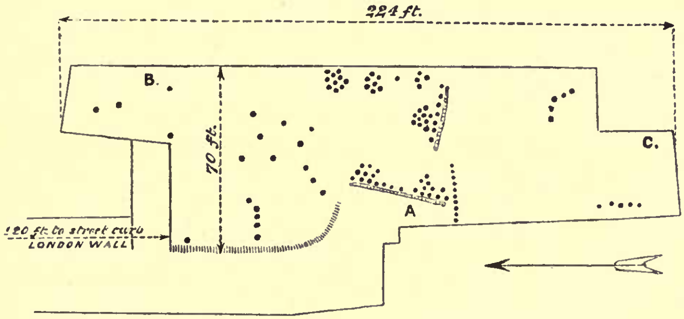
[1] The use of terms belonging to a late period to describe conditions of an early period is a fruitful source of error. Over and over again do we read in our best histories of the *capital* of a Celtic king, the *towns* of a Celtic tribe. Capital and town are wrong terms to apply to the oppida of the Celts. There is a sentence of Polybius (xxv. i.), quoting Strabo, iii. cap. 4, which supplies an opportunity for illustrating the incongruous absurdity of this error. "Tiberius Gracchus is said to have destroyed three hundred cities of the Celtiberes." This Poseidonius ridicules, stating "that to flatter Gracchus, Polybius described as cities towers, *πύργους*, like those exhibited in triumphal processions." This is the critic's exaggeration, but it is pertinent.

[2] *Archæologia*, vol. lxiii. pp. 308–319.

FIG. 1. PLAN.



Plan of site of pile dwellings found near London Wall.

But, after all, these are but the fragments of a forgotten past which witnessed London's first effort towards a future. They do not, of themselves, help us much towards understanding how that future was affected by Celtic beginnings. They are the dead and useless elements trodden under our feet, the destructible elements which disappeared with the culture to which they belonged. For elements not destructible we must turn to another source, and this is the cult of the worshipped god. The worship of the gods never seems to become quite trodden down. It lives on and on, not in the end connected with the peoples, the tribes, the groups who first invoked them, perhaps even living only as a peasant's superstition. But it lives. Lud was god of the waters, and he belonged to the Celtic religion as it was established in Gaul and Spain. In Britain he

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[1] Dr Plummer has collected a useful list of authorities on this as a Celtic practice in a note to his *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, vol. i. p. cviii. *Cf.* Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, where almost entirely the human remains consist of skulls, sometimes fashioned into cups for drinking. Virgil describes the hanging of the severed head on the car of the victor, *Æneid*, xii. 511. The ghastly story told by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Conquest of Ireland* (cap. iv.), of the Irish cutting off the heads of their fallen enemies with their broad axes and collecting two hundred heads to lay at the feet of Dermitius is referable to the same practice.

FIG. 2. SECTION at A.

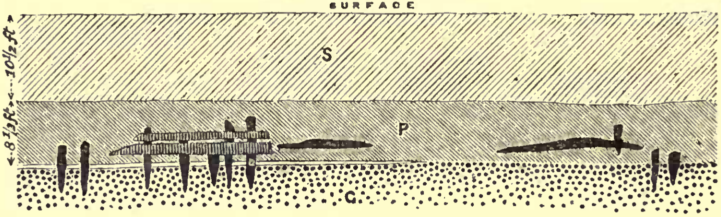


FIG. 3. SECTION at B.

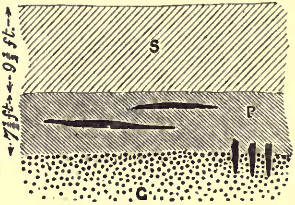
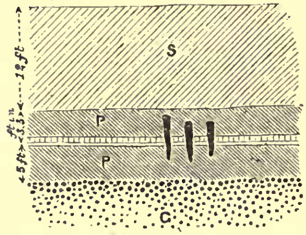


FIG. 4. SECTION at C.



Section of site of pile dwellings found near London Wall.
G, Gravel. P, Peat. S, Superficial earth.

was god of the Severn, for on its banks at Lydney his temple, dedicated by the Romans, has been unearthed. On the banks of the Thames there is the last remnant of the god—the god-name, Lud. Severn and Thames, the two great rivers of Celtic Britain, each protected by the river god, is what the evidence conveys to us; and just as a small plaque of bronze represents the god himself, as the Romans sculptured him at Lydney, so at London there is, I think, a Roman representation of the god himself in the magnificent head of a river god in white marble discovered in the Walbrook.[1] That these sculptures are of Roman workmanship, not Celtic, leads up to further important conclusions—that both on the Severn and the Thames the Romans paid respect to the gods of the people whom they conquered, just as they did elsewhere, and which it is well known was part of their religious polity all the world over.

A river cult of this kind was a great cult, not an isolated worship. Gods who protected as Lud protected were worshipped, not in one tribe, but in all tribes whose location demanded his help.

These diverse features in the cult of Lud can be brought to bear upon the position of Celtic London. Both Roman and Celt are interested in the worship of Lud, and we can only get at the worship of the Celtic god in London through the medium of Roman worship there, just as we can only reach the Celtic hut circles and graves through the stratum of Roman remains.

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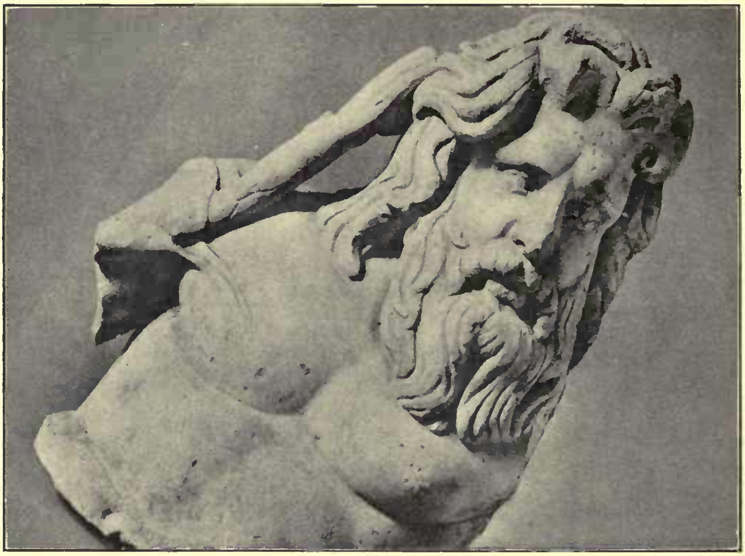
[1] *Archæologia,* vol. lx. p. 45.

The cardinal facts upon which we begin are the survival of the god-name in London and the existence of the head of the Walbrook river god. These two facts are complementary parts of one original, namely, the Celtic worship of Lud, and it will be necessary, owing to the absence of further direct evidence in London, to examine some points in the cult of Lud elsewhere in Celtic lands, in order to ascertain the value of these London fragments.



River god found in London.

The name of the god is the root of some names of cities in Celtdom, situated, as London was situated, at the head of a river or at the juncture of two rivers.

Lugdunum, the modern Lyons, was the chief of such cities—the town of Lug at the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone; and there were Lugdunum Convenarum, now called Saint Bertrand de Comminges, in the department of the Haute Garonne; Laon, the chief town of the department of the Aisne; Lugodunum, now Leyden on the Rhine; and Lugduna on the Rhone.[1]

Now, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has suggested that the festival held at the last-mentioned place every first of August in honour of the deified Augustus, simply superseded, in name mostly, an older festival held on that day in honour of Lug,[2] and it is noteworthy that Lugdunum very early (B.C. 12) possessed an altar to Augustus, with a Celtic priest.[3] This suggestion helps the London question at its weakest point, inasmuch as we can turn to the worship of the Emperor in London. Mommsen, in his belittling account of the province of Britain, says that "we do not precisely know what English town served as a seat for the common worship of the Emperor."[4] There was certainly an important temple to the Emperor Claudius at Camulodunum which "was regarded as a stronghold of ascendancy for all time,"[5] and that this ascendancy resulted from the existence of this temple is surely implied by the historian's words. Roach Smith has pointed out that the inscription found in Nicholas Lane, London, which Hübner extends to "Numini Cæsaris et Genio provinciæ Britanniæ,"[1] has probably, judging from the size of the letters, surmounted the entrance to a temple, and that London was thus a seat for the worship of the Emperor. The bronze head of Hadrian, found in the Thames at London Bridge, seems to confirm this view.[2] We have in these facts the necessary basis for the argument that as the worship of Lud or Lug at Lugduna is associated with the worship of the Emperor, so in London there are the same associated cults.

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[1] Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 420; Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, vol. ii. s.v. Lugudunon.

[2] Quoted by Rhys, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

[3] Ramsay, *Tacitus' Annals*, vol. i. p. 70, note 2.

[4] Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 193.

[5] Tacitus, *Annal.*, lib. xiv. cap. 31.

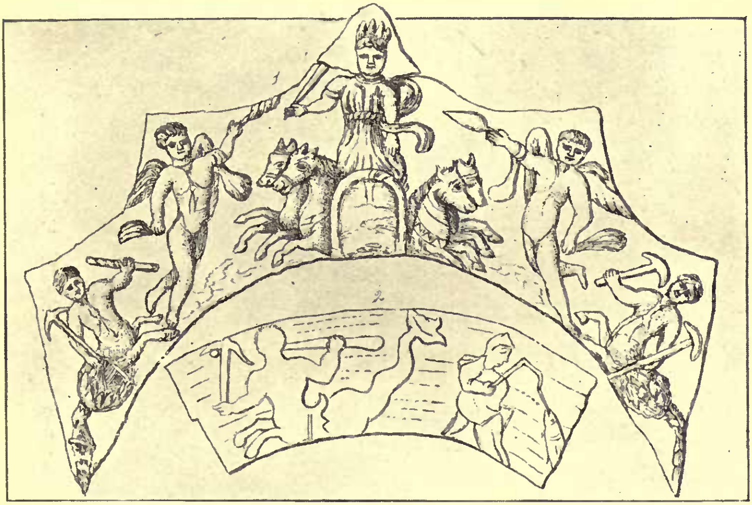
The next stage in the evidence for the cult of Lud in London comes from the analogy between London conditions and those at Lydney, where pavements and other objects of Roman workmanship have been discovered which exhibit designs illustrative of the worship accorded to this god. Sir John Rhys is the best guide here. He describes the principal features as follows:

"The mosaic floor displayed not only an inscription, but also representations of sea serpents, or the *κήτεα* accompanying Glaucus in Greek mythology, and fishes supposed to stand for the salmon of the Severn; moreover, an ugly band of red within the lines of the inscription surrounded the mouth of a funnel

[1] *C.I.L.*, No. 22.

[2] *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 30-31.

leading into the ground beneath; this hole is supposed to have been used for libations to the god. Further, a small plaque of bronze found on the spot gives us probably a representation of the god himself. The principal figure thereon is a youthful deity crowned with rays like Phœbus; he stands in a chariot drawn by four horses like the Roman Neptune.



Deus Nodens or river god, from Lydney Park.

On either side the winds are typified by a winged genius floating along, and the rest of the space is left to two Tritons, while a detached piece, probably of the same bronze, represents another Triton, also a fisherman, who has just succeeded in hooking a salmon."[1] An interesting parallel to this representation of fishing in the religious cult is also found in

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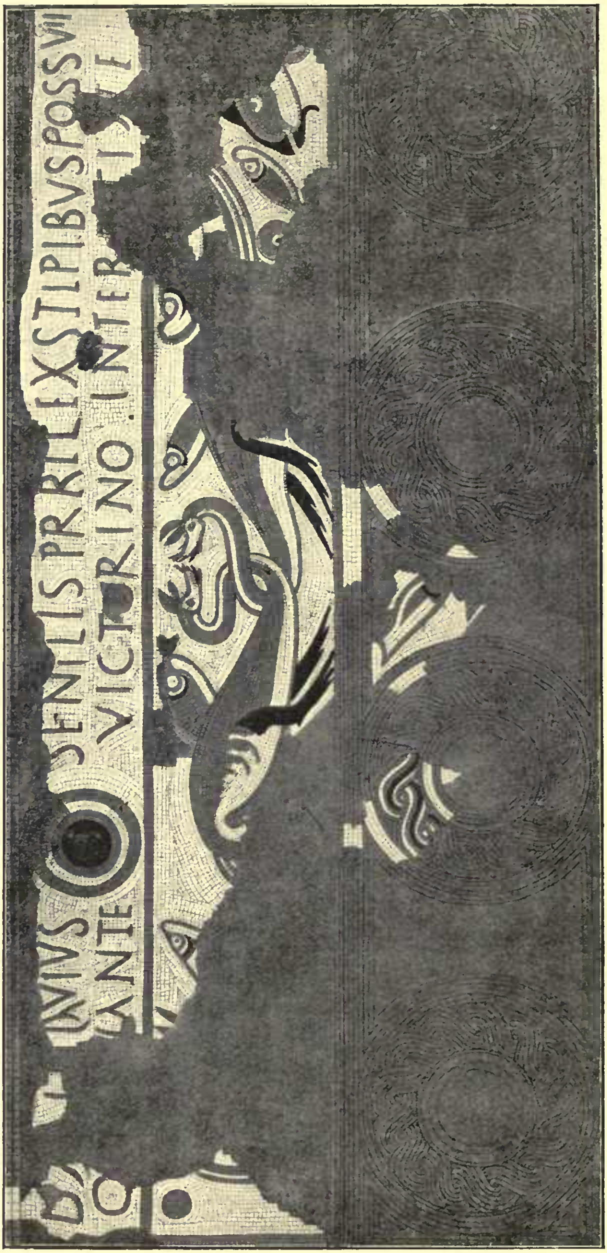
[1] Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 126–7.


D
VIVS SENILIS PR RELI EX STIPIBVS POSSVIT
ANTE VICTORINO INTER

Pavement of temple to river god at Lydney Park.

the religious cult of London. It will be described later on among the Roman antiquities, but its essential position as evidence is here. It forms a connecting link between the worship of Lud in Lydney and that in London. Further parallel evidence is derived from the fact that some interesting points are preserved by the Lydney temple essential to its position as a Celtic site. The temple at Lydney was in the Roman station now situated about a mile and a half from the Severn, though the river flowed nearer to Lydney in former times. This is shown by a large tract of alluvial ground, which is known to have been formed by deposit from the river within the last one hundred and fifty years, and tradition reports that the water once came up within a short distance of the churchyard at Lydney. This made the position which the Romans occupied a very commanding one,[1] and it is precisely parallel to the sites elsewhere chosen for the worship of this deity as the river god of the Celts. It was a pre-Roman site, and that the worship was also pre-Roman is clearly established from the remains,[2] in addition to the inscription by Silvianus, which is not only Celtic in form but is tribal Celtic,[3] and the

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[1] Bathurst, *Roman Remains in Lydney Park*, p. 1. The map which is given in this volume illustrates these points admirably.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 26, 30.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 45, pl. xx. Devo Nodenti Silvlanus (*sic*) anilum perdedit, demediam partem donavit Nodenti inter quibus nomen Seniciani nollis petmittas sanitatem donec perferat usque templum Nodentis. *C.I.L.*, No. 140.

ex voto offerings, which are Celtic and include the sacred cock.[1]

The argument is: the same god-name on the Thames as on the Severn, therefore the same god; the same god, therefore the same worship. Sir John Rhys puts it in this way: "The probability is that as a temple on a hill near the Severn associated him [Lud] with that river in the west, so a still more ambitious temple on a hill connected him with the Thames in the east; and as an aggressive creed can hardly signalise its conquests more effectually than by appropriating the fanes of the retreating faith, no site could be guessed with more probability to have been sacred to the Celtic Zeus than the eminence on which the dome of St Paul's now rears its magnificent form."[2]

This argument seems to me quite conclusive. It not only meets the close parallels which have been noted in the various phases of Lud-worship, but it is the only way to account for the associated facts —facts which need accounting for if we would get at London origins.

There is something more in the worship of Lud in London which it helps to account for, and which presently we shall be attempting to explain inadequately, if we do not accept Sir John Rhys's argument. Somewhere in the future of London history —the future, that is, which comes from Celtic London —there will appear the lasting effect of the cult of Lud as he was worshipped at Celtic London, as he was continued among the gods of Roman London, namely, the expression of a Celtic religious feeling towards London in post-Roman times. This expression was not a creation, but a survival. It is the something more which comes to us from Celtic London—the only something which was sent forward from Celtic to Roman London, though it proved a most powerful and necessary factor in the chain of continuity. Its influence, however, did not appear until post-Roman times, and we must leave the evidence of Celtic London at this stage in all its meagreness and incompleteness to resume it later on when we shall see it in a new and more powerful light.

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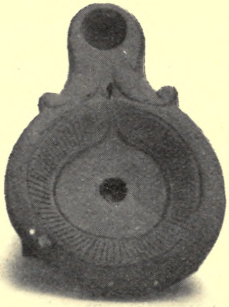
[1] Bathurst, *Roman Remains in Lydney Park*, p. 49.

[2] Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 129. Mr Cook has followed this up by a special inquiry into the Celtic form of the European sky god; and he points out where Lud equates with Zeus, and thus becomes entitled to take his place among Celtic gods who had a definite place in the religious cults of Britain (*Folklore*, vol. xvii. pp. 35–50).

CHAPTER III

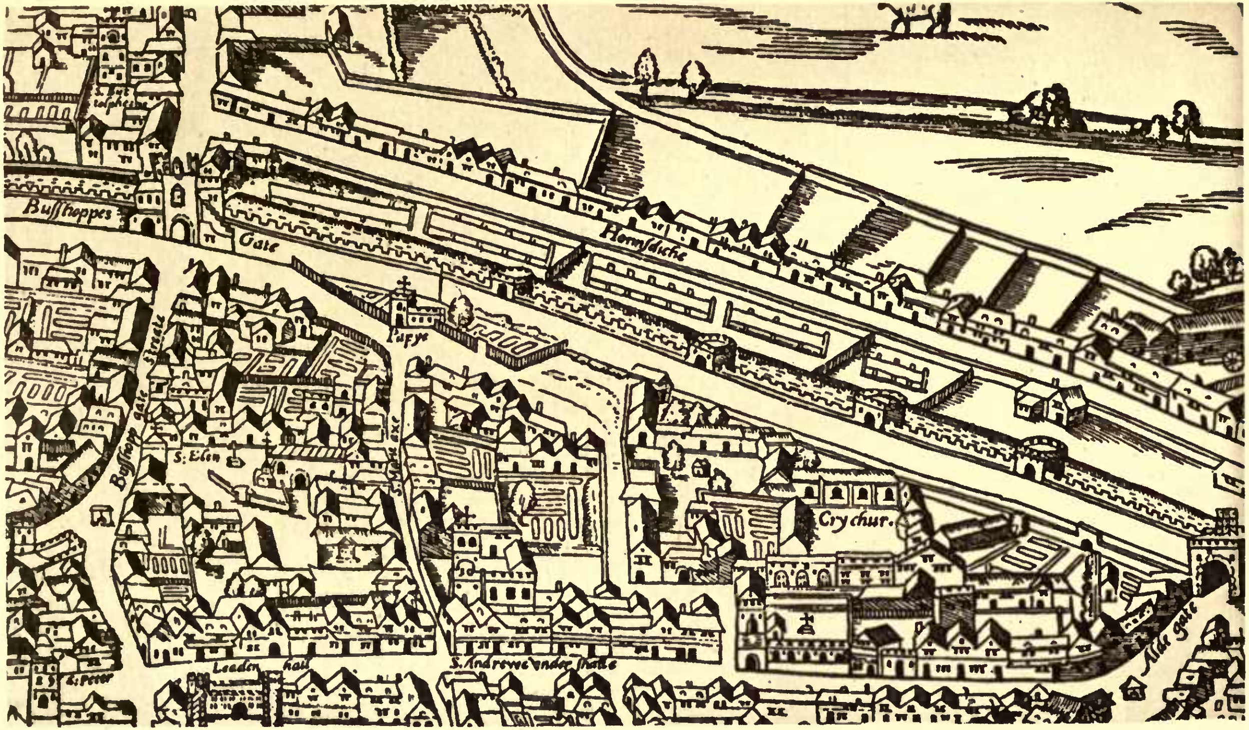
ROMAN ORIGINS

THE beginnings of London as a city are to be found in Roman, not Celtic, London, and though the remains of Roman London lie some fifteen feet below the modern surface of London—the material remains, that is to say—the fifteen feet of accumulated debris, representing the events of fifteen hundred years, has not obliterated the foundation stratum. We are not now concerned with the quantum of these remains, nor with the quality. Our endeavour will be to pick our way amongst them in order to do two things—to demonstrate that Roman London was a place of Roman power and authority; to gather up, if we may, some recognisable ideal which this Roman London may have possessed, and which it may have passed on to later ages.



Roman lamp found at Three Kings Court, Lombard Street, in Guildhall Museum.

London is the one place in our island which has yielded Roman objects of artistic merit and abund-


Busshoppes
Gate
Hornsdiche
Papye
Busshopp gate streate
S. Elen
Crychur.
S. Andrewe vnder shafte
Leaden hall
S. Peter
Alde gate

LONDON WALL from BISHOPSGATE to ALDGATE, about 1560.

From Ralph Agas' Map.

ance.[1] In spite of the ignorance, the indifference, the unpardonable neglect of centuries, this verdict of no less an authority than Dr Haverfield comes like a freshening breeze to one's perception of the fitness of things. There was a Roman London, then, of greatness. Art does not find its abode in mean cities, nor in cities whence greatness of some sort does not issue, and what we have to inquire into is what sort of greatness was it which belonged to Roman London, and which Roman London sent forth as its contribution to world-history.

We must first obtain a general idea of the constructive and geographical aspect of Roman London. A complete system of defensive protection by walls and gates secured the internal glories of Roman London from attack. Excavators for building and other purposes have not come to the end of discoveries of lengths of the Roman wall, and few things are more interesting than to know that to this day the site of the wall still determines the route of London streets, and still commands an additional and special price in city contracts where excavations have to take place. The question as to when the walls were built, when London, therefore, assumed its position of largest Roman city in Britain, is much disputed. The most important evidence consistently points to an early construction, late in the first century or early in the second, and the famous passage in Tacitus, read insufficiently by most scholars, of the massacre by Boudicca, following the tactical surrender of London by the Roman general Suetonius, supplies the keynote. This passage contains two important statements for consideration. First, there is the Londoner's love for the place; secondly, there is the hesitation of Suetonius as to his defence of it. Both these statements must be considered in the light of the acknowledged meagreness of Tacitus' military information. They indicate a definitely organised community, not a mere collection of merchants' booths, undefended even from the natives who had not yet been entirely conquered. Such careless ways were not usual with Roman merchants nor with the Roman state. The strategical value of London must have transferred her from a Celtic stronghold to a Roman defensive post. Her commercial value revealed itself so quickly upon this transfer that she developed as modern cities develop in newly colonised countries before our eyes. The Roman general had to face the problem of a Roman camp on the Thames front, surrounded by mercantile buildings

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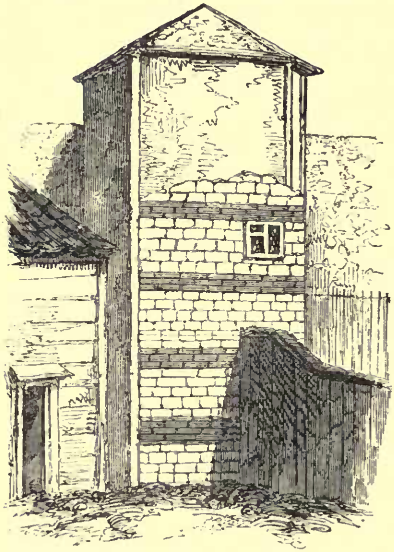
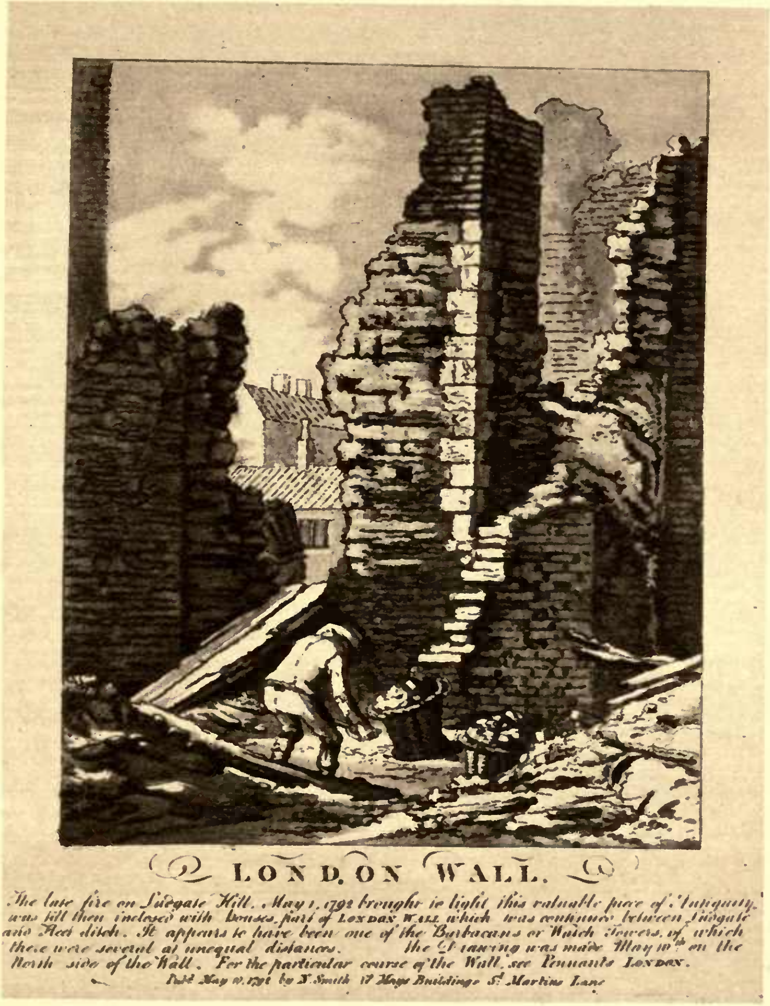
[1] Dr Haverfield in *Archæologia,*vol. lx. p. 43.


Roman tower in the Wall near Bishopsgate.

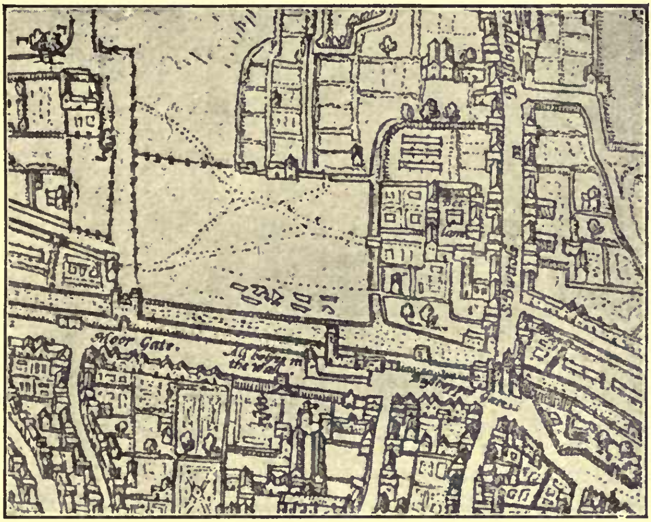


LONDON WALL.

The late fire on Ludgate Hill, May 1, 1792 brought to light this valuable piece of Antiquity,
was till then inclosed with houses, part of LONDON WALL which was continued between Ludgate
and Fleet ditch. It appears to have been one of the Barbacans or Watch Towers, of which
there were several at unequal distances. The Drawing was made May 10th on the
North side of the Wall. For the particular course of the Wall, see Pennants LONDON.
Publ. May 10. 1792 by J. Smith 17 Mays Buildings St. Martins Lane

A PORTION OF OLD LONDON WALL ON LUDGATE HILL.
Brought to light by a fire in 1792.

on the land side. This is the interpretation to be put upon the meagre sentences of the great Roman historian in order fully to account for the facts—the love of the citizens for the place which was being left to the enemy, the hesitation of the general as to making his defence at London. There could have been no love for the place—*loci dulcedo*—unless it had developed into a home for soldier and merchant; there would have been no hesitancy but for the fact that London's defences were in some sort of form for defence. This double point of view enables us to consider the first Roman London as a camp which had grown into the nucleus of a city, with attractions and beauties of its own, and to consider the expansion to



A portion of Braun and Hogenberg's map of London, showing the Roman tower in the Wall.

the greater Roman London, which took place rapidly and effectively, as the cause both of its military unfitness for defence in A.D. 61 and of its mercantile fitness for enlargement. There were thus two Roman Londons—the defended nucleus arising out of the original camp, and the extended city identified by its walls.[1] The first site is even to this day represented on the map of the city by a rectangular block intersected by straight streets, north and south and east and west, enclosing an area about that of a legionary camp, and containing London Stone, with its interesting traditions. More than this, there was a definite constitutional boundary of this area, for the discovery in the bed of the Walbrook of a boundary mark used by the Roman surveyors[2] can only point to such a conclusion. It is not possible to determine precisely which of the boundaries of the inner city suggested at various times by different authorities is the correct one, but there can be little doubt that within the true boundary was the Roman London which was loved by its citizens in A.D. 61. It passed away into the larger Roman London, but even so, the evidence of its former existence is consistent with Roman ideals, for, as Mr Reid reminds us, "in the imperial age cities were fond of reviving ancient memories."[3] It was retained in the

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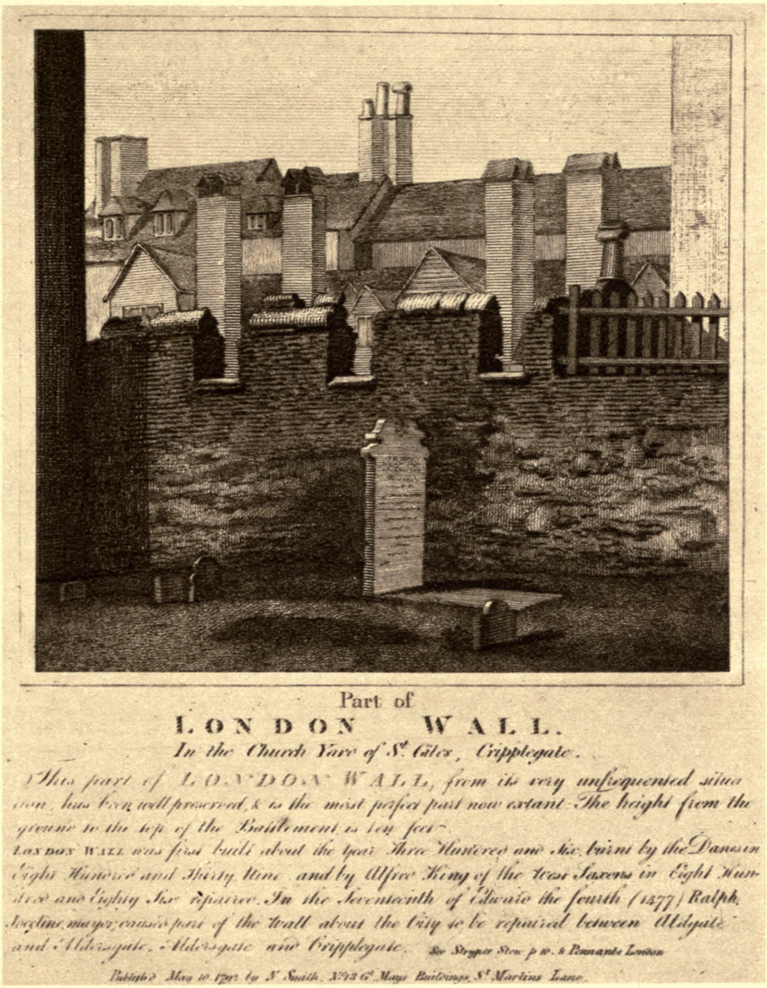
[1] I have worked this point out in my *Governance of London*, pp. 75–87.

[2] *Vict. Hist. of London*, pp. 42, 82.

[3] J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 373, and see p. 235 for an example of the dual origin of a city.



Part of

LONDON WALL.

In the Church Yard of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

This part of LONDON WALL, *from its very unfrequented situation, has been well preserved, & is the most perfect part now extant. The height from the ground to the top of the Battlement is ten feet.*

LONDON WALL *was first built about the year Three Hundred and Six, burnt by the Danes in Eight Hundred and Thirty Nine and by Alfred King of the West Saxons in Eight Hundred and Eighty Six repaired. In the Seventeenth of Edward the fourth (1477) Ralph Joceline, mayor, caused part of the Wall about the City to be repaired between Aldgate and Aldersgate, Aldersgate and Cripplegate.* See Strypes Stow p 10. & Pennants London

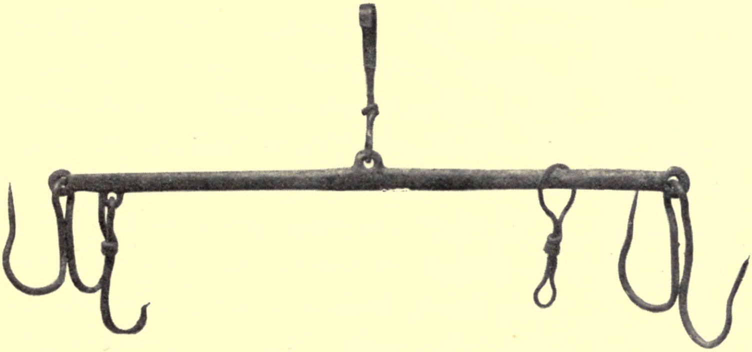
Published May 10 1792 by N. Smith, No. 18 Gt. Mays Buildings, St. Martins Lane.

PART OF LONDON WALL in the Churchyard of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

From an engraving published in 1792.

earliest ages perhaps by a religious significance, for the Romans worshipped in this fashion, but that it should be retained at all is remarkable testimony to the persistence of historical evidences.

We have more concern with the greater Roman London. The difference between the first London and this second London is expressed by the change of name. When Tacitus first brings London into history it is a mere "locus." During its Roman history it drops the Celtic name of London and is endowed with the great name of Augusta. The significance of such facts scarcely needs elaboration. Augusta was one of the recognised great cities of the Roman Empire. It was possessed of two very important features—the bridge which, spanning the Thames, gave it easy access to the south, instead of an almost impossible access, and the roads which connected it with the entire continental system of roadways. One must always bear in mind these



Roman balance, bronze, found in London Wall, in the Guildhall Museum.

roadways. They were not British roads. They were not even Roman roads in Britain. They were the roads of the Roman Empire, constructed for all the purposes of the Empire—military, commercial, social. They all started, not in Britain, but at Rome. They entered and traversed Gaul, reaching the coast at Gesoriacum (Boulogne). They began again in Britain at Dovernum (Dover), and the connection between the roads in Britain and those on the Continent is clearly stated in the Antonine itinerary. London by their means was fully and completely brought within the Empire, sharing with all the other cities the glories, the peace, and, in the end, the misfortunes of the Empire.

Roman key, iron, in Guildhall Museum.

We shall presently see how this works out, but in the meantime we go on to note that a Roman city was not wholly contained within its defending walls. The cities of Italy were each a miniature Rome, and we want to know whether cities beyond Italy, the cities in Britain, were also planned in this way. The historian Gildas implies that they were (cap. v.). Gibbon describes the facts which lead him to the same conclusion,[1] and all history seems to point in this direction. Mr Reid in his recent volume of lectures[2] gives complete evidence on the general aspect of this subject. The remains of the Roman cities also give the same evidence, for even after destruction we can always find our way to the forum (in London generally accepted as on the site now occupied by Leadenhall), the temple, and the amphitheatre; and Silchester, Caerleon, Wroxeter, Cirencester, and other sites bear testimony to this universality of type. Although I am afraid I must surrender to Dr Norman my suggestion that the Bear Garden in Southwark was the site of the London amphitheatre,[1] I at the same time point out that the trident found there is not the only indication in London of the Roman sport. A second trident has been found in Southwark, namely, in Stoney Street,[2] itself a remarkable survival from Roman London; while the inscription to a Retiarius in Greek, found at Islington,[3] but probably coming from another find-spot in London, belongs to the same group.

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[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire* (edit. Bury), vol. iii. pp. 353–355.

[2] J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, p. 14 (adorning

Roman pincers, iron, in Guildhall Museum.

The importance of this class of objects is confirmed by the constitutional evidence that the auth-

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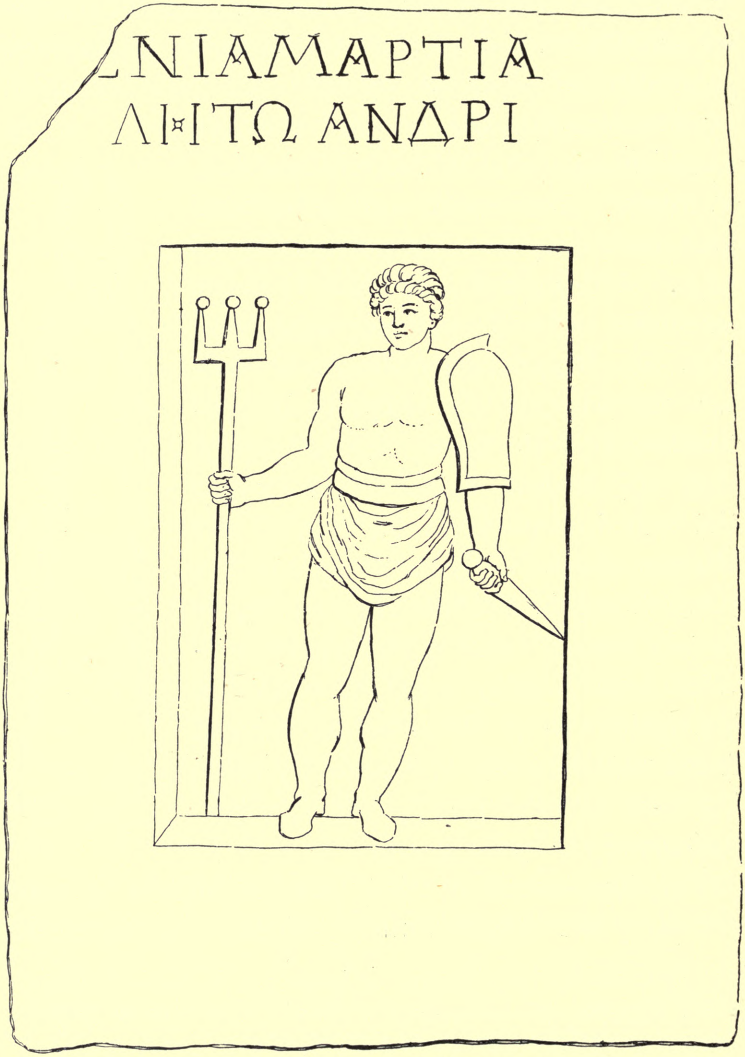
the city to imitate the grandeur of Rome); p. 20 (town planning); p. 127 (copying the institutions of Rome). See also Mr Hardy's *Roman Laws and Charters*, pp. (ii.) 13, 64, 114.

[1] See *Governance of London*, p. 95.

[2] *Catalogue of Guildhall Museum*, p. 58.

[3] *Arch.*, vol. xi. p. 48.


ΝΙΑΜΑΡΤΙΑ
ΛΙ·ΙΤΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ

Retiarius found at Islington.

orities of the cities and the forces of government must also have corresponded to the Roman form. The settlement of the colonia was on the same principle in Britain as elsewhere.[1] The one reference to Britain in the Theodosian code gives fortunate evidence that the decurions of the cities existed as in other parts of the Empire (lib. ii., tit. vii. 2), and inscriptions confirm this.[2] Another inscription refers to the publicani of the province,[3] indicating that London was a centre of financial administration. And finally, the Emperor Honorius addressed his famous letter, severing Britain from the Roman Empire, to the cities of Britain, and this could not have been done unless these cities had been Roman in the fullest sense of the term. As in other parts of the Empire, the cities, not the provinces, were the government centres, and it was to these city-states that the Emperor turned when he left Britain to her fate. On these grounds we are justified in depicting the Roman cities of Britain as miniatures of the mother city on the Tiber, and in depicting London as the best of such miniatures.

If this is so, London had its pomerium, the open sacred belt of land all round the city, and its territorium, the extensive tract which was its food-ground, its villa space, its playground, and its sporting-ground.[4]

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[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 31.

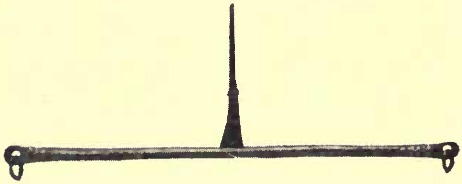
[2] *See C.I.L.*, Nos. 54 and 189, referring to Gloucester and Lincoln.

[3] *C.I.L.*, No. 1235, and see Dr Haverfield in *Journ. Roman Studies*, vol. i. p. 151.

[4] See maps in my *Governance of London*, pp. 88, 96.

There are no material proofs of these dating from Roman times, though Mr Montagu Sharpe has gone far to prove that the Roman plotting of the fields in Middlesex can still be traced.

Complete proofs of these and other constitutional matters, however, come to us from what was left over after the break-up of Roman times—remnants so great and significant as to form definite parts of city organisation in these later times, and yet not to be accounted for or explained by the facts presented by these later times, nor indeed in anything in the history in which they become embedded. History cannot deal with institutions situated in this way, for institutions do not come into existence at the precise date when their recorded history begins. They come into history from a previous unrecorded period; and we shall have to note this in a somewhat special manner throughout the entire range of our inquiry. That it is possible to note it so early, in connection with Roman London and not with the Celtic stronghold of London, points to this period as the true commencing stage of that continuity in London history with which we are now concerned.


Roman scale beam, bronze, found at Austin Friars, in the Guildhall Museum.

It is not necessary to deal with these remains further at this stage. They have been discussed elsewhere, and are fairly well known.[1] But there are other remains which tell us of the Romanisation of London in quite a different manner, eloquent fragments from the past, speaking to us through the mist of centuries in a language which belongs to our common humanity. One such fragment comes very closely into touch right at the beginning, for it is not only a message out of the past, but a living message. It is a tile from a bonding course in the city wall, dug up in Warwick Lane, and bearing a rude inscription which Dr Haverfield happily translates into "Augustalis goes off on his own every fortnight."[2] Augustalis was obviously a criticised personage in Roman London, and someone, a wag of a workman no doubt, noted down what he, in common with his descendant of to-day, was in the habit of doing. And he noted it in the Latin language. The language of Roman London then, at least as low down as the skilled artisan class, was Latin. Now a Roman city talking Latin was a Roman city through and through. The sons of Roman mothers were there. Roman aspirations, Roman ideals, Roman thought were there, with the language which came to them from the great mother city on the Tiber. London intended to be true daughter city to the great mother, a city of the Empire, with the Empire's methods of doing what was before her to do.

The costume was Roman, for sandals, almost as perfect as when in use, and presenting some of the best forms and patterns,[1] have been found among the buried remains, as well as on the ship which met its fate on the shore of the Thames nearly opposite Horseferry.[2] Personal ornaments of interesting types are numerous, and some are beautifully designed, among which may be mentioned a bronze fibula of peculiar shape, bearing traces of silvered and enamelled ornamentation, armlets chiefly in bronze and some in gold, two being dug up in Cheapside of remarkable beauty, a variety of jet objects, hair-pins, brooches, and other fibulæ of many types. One of the most interesting of the toilette implements is a strigil or bath scraper found upon the site of the Royal Exchange, used for scraping the skin after gymnastic exercise. All such objects and their fellows, not to be enumerated here, but many of them to be seen in the Guildhall Museum, indicate the nature of the domestic life of Roman London.

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[1] See *Governance of London*, pp. 96–107.

[2] *Journ. Roman Studies*, vol. i. p. 168.

Roman key, bronze, in Guildhall Museum.

More significant than all the material remains, so significant as practically to embrace the whole essentials of Roman life in London, is the fact that

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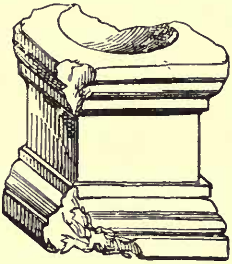
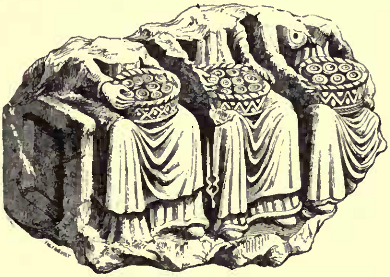
[1] Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London,* pp. 131, 132.

[2] *Ship of the Roman Period discovered on Site of the County Hall,* p. 14.

Roman London worshipped in the Roman fashion. Roman worship was dual, that which belonged to the house and the family, and that which belonged to the city and the citizen. The house religion, to which members of the Roman household alone were admitted, is represented by a small altar in coloured marble, three inches square, found in the Thames near old London Bridge.[1] The city religion is represented by the altar of Diana found under Goldsmiths Hall in Foster Lane.[2] There are two other religious cults in London, that of the Deæ Matres, represented by a sculptured fragment discovered in Hart Street Crutched Friars,[3] and that of Mithra, represented by an altar-piece found in the Walbrook.[4] We have thus in London the Roman



Domestic altar found in London.



Fragment of group of Matronæ found in Hart Street Crutched Friars.

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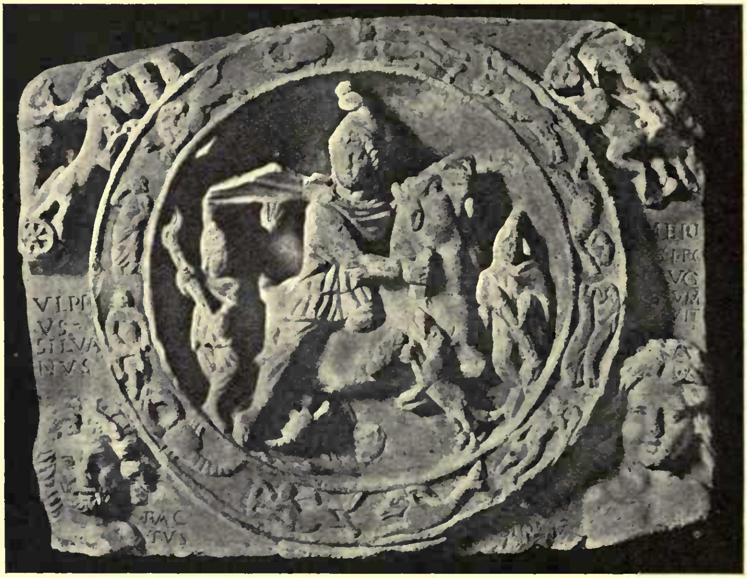
[1] Roach Smith, *Illustrations*, p. 48, with woodcut illustration.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48, plate ii.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 33, with woodcut illustration. This cult is discussed by H. C. Coote in *Folklore*, vol. iii. pp. 117–123, and in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi. pp. 171–186.

[4] Haverfield, in *Journ. Roman Studies*, vol. i. p. 163, and plate xxiv.; Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 57–60.

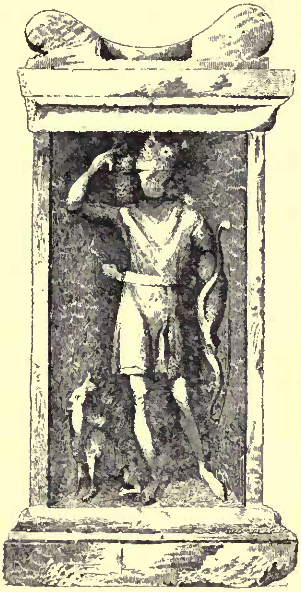
family religion, the Roman city religion, and two acquired religions, a combination the importance of which may be appreciated by the study of Mr Warde Fowler's work on Roman religion. Perhaps the evidence of the family religion is in this case the more important, for in this cult, revealed by the indestructible evidence of the sculptured stone, we have proof that the Romans who settled in London brought with them the religion upon which their lives were founded, and not merely an official and perfunctory religious ritual half believed in by many and not believed in at all by the rest of its votaries. The worship of the Deæ Matres and of Mithra was



Mithraic relief found in London.

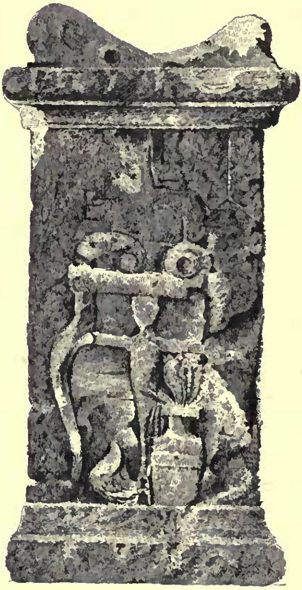
founded on a different principle, and the fact that London became possessed of these advanced cults illustrates how closely she was in touch with the progressive forces of the Empire.

We may now ask what was the predominant worship in Roman London. Undoubtedly it was that of Diana, for the cult evidence of this goddess includes not only the altar, but other finds connected with the worship. These additional elements do not occur in connection with any of the other Roman deities worshipped in London, and I think this is due to the fact that Diana-worship practically absorbed the religious expression of London. It will be necessary to examine the details of these additional finds with some care.



Altar to Diana.

The altar was recovered, as we have seen, from the foundations of Goldsmiths Hall. It was connected with strongly cemented masses of stonework. It is figured in *Archæologia* (vol. xxiv.), and bears in bas-relief the figure of Diana with bow and quiver and a hound at her feet; on the sides of the altar is sculptured a tree, and upon the back is rudely sculptured a tripod and sacrificial implements. There is evidence of an inscription on the back of the altar, and it has even been asserted that the letter V for "Venatrix" was discoverable, but this is far from certain. Now these details are important. The altar was clearly used for sacrifice or sacrifice would not be indicated. And the sculpturing of the tree indicates a rite belonging to the cult of Diana. Further, there is this important fact, the figure of Diana on the altar has the same general characteristics as statues of the Græco-Roman age. Mr Farnell has figured and described one of these from Dresden.[1] The London sculpture has the short tunic of the Roman type, while the Dresden statue has "the long Doric double chiton that falls in austere folds down to the feet"; but with this exception, the figures are remarkably alike. From the position of the arms and hands in the Dresden statue "it is clear that she was holding the bow in a peaceful way against her left side, and her right hand was raised to the quiver." This is



Altar to Diana, back view.

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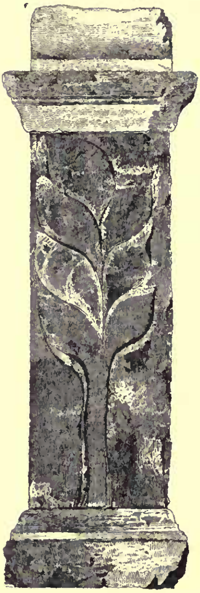
[1] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. plate xxxv. (*b*), and p. 546.

precisely the interpretation which explains the London sculpture, the bow in her left hand being particularly noticeable. It is also like the Diana Venatrix in the Louvre.


Altar to Diana, side view.

Malcolm, quoting from a manuscript dissertation of Dr Woodward, relates the discovery, to the south-west of the Cathedral, between the Deanery and Blackfriars, of a bronze statuette of Diana, two and a half inches high, in the habit of a huntress, with elaborately plaited hair and carrying a quiver. The image is thus described: "An icunculus of Diana made of brass and two inches and a half in height. It is in the habit of a huntress unquestionably ancient and of Roman make. The hair is very handsomely plaited, made up into a wreath, passing on each side the head and collected into two knots, a larger at the top and a lesser behind the head. The arms are both bare and quite naked. At her back, towards the right shoulder, hangs a quiver, tied on by a fascia passing over that shoulder by the breast under the left arm round to the back. In the left hand has been a bow, in the right an arrow. The habit is shortened and girt up about her waist after the manner of the cinctus Gabinus, while it reaches not quite to her knees below nor to the hams behind. On the feet are the hunting buskins, extending over the ankles up to the lower part of the calf of the leg."[1]

These discoveries establish the fact of Diana-worship, and the next point is the character of that worship. One almost universal element in the worship of the Greek Artemis, and her counterpart the Roman Diana, is the sacrifice of stags, and therefore the discovery of stag bones in great quantities is an important fact. The discovery has long been a matter of dispute, but I think on insufficient grounds. Stow says definitely that "there were found more than an hundred scalpes of oxen or kine in the yeare one thousand three hundred and sixteene,"[2] and he had good evidence for this. Wren declares that he discovered in his excavations for the new cathedral nothing that would confirm this statement;[3] but Bagford says "that on the south side of the church of late days, since the fire at the first beginning to build St Paul's church, there were found several scalps of oxen and a large quantity of boars' tusks, with divers earthen vessels, especially pateræ, that were of different shapes."[4] This is confirmed by Dr Woodward, who, in Wren's time, had collected specimens from this find. The following extract describes this collection: "Particularly the Ingenious Dr Woodward acquaints us, that he has in his Collection Tusks of Boars, Horns of Oxen and of Stags, as also the representations of Deer, and even of Diana her self, upon the Sacrificing Vessels digged up near St Paul's Church; and likewise a small Image of that Goddess, found not far off. Now it appears from ancient Writers, that not only Stags, but Oxen, and Swine also, were sacrificed to Diana."[1] This seems to me quite conclusive, and it exactly fits the conditions of a classical example which Dr Rouse quotes for the same purpose as mine, namely, the antiquity of the custom with which it is in close contact. "Evidence has at last been found of the antiquity of these customs," says Dr Rouse with reference to the worship of Artemis in Greece, "in the temple of Artemis at Lusi, where have been found stags' horns with boars' tusks and the teeth of bears in numbers, apparently the relics of early offerings."[2]

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[1] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum,* vol. iii. p. 509, from a MS. by Dr Woodward, the correspondent of Wren.

[2] Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. i. p. 333.

[3] Wren, *Parentalia,* 1750, pp. 265–267. (See Appendix II.)

[4] Bagford, *Letter to Hearne* in Leland's *Collectanea,* vol. i. p. lxvii.

It looks very much as if Dr Woodward's collection included examples of temple objects similar to the finds in Nicholas Lane, and this suggests an inquiry as to the probable site of the temple of Diana. An interesting description and illustration of an ancient lamp by Knight, the biographer of Erasmus, is, I think, the starting-point. "Since we have been speaking of St Paul's Church, it may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Curious, if we here present them with the Picture of an Earthen Lamp, which was found in digging the Foundation of this Church. It

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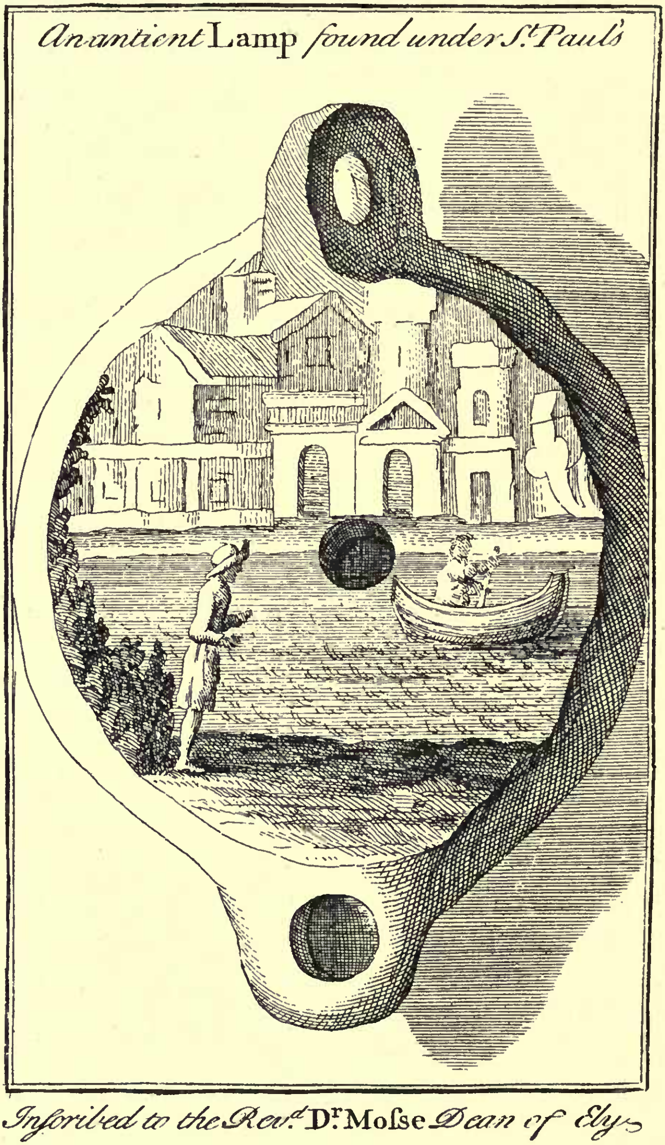
[1] Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, p. 302. (See Appendix III.)

[2] Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 50.


An antient Lamp found under S^{t} Paul's
Inſcribed to the Rev^{d}. D^{r}. Moſse Dean of Ely

Roman lamp found in London, ſrom Knight's *Life of Erasmus.*

represents the Figure of a Building, which the late Mr Kemp, into whose hands this Lamp came, supposed to be the Temple of Diana. And he was more confirm'd in this Opinion, from another Lamp of the same sort, which was found in the same place, and at the same time with the former, together with several Boar Tusks (*Monument*, Kemp, par. 1, pp. 179, 180). . . . The Prospect of the Building, as here represented, must have been taken from the South side of the River, as is plain from the largness of the human Figure standing there. The shape of the Boat on the River is not unlike one published by Bayfius, which, he saies, was drawn from an Antient Monument. The Lamp it self, being but ordinary Work, makes the Building less correct and accurate. I offer it therefore but as a Conjecture, and leave it to those who are better versed in such Antiquities, to judge of it as they please; and whether from the Form it may appear more likely to be a Roman or a British Building. I shall only add, that 'tis no Objection to its being a Temple, because the Front looks to the South: since we are told by Vitruvius, that altho' Temples ought generally to be built, when the Situation of the Place will admit of it, with their Front Westward; yet when they are placed by Rivers, they should look toward the Bank, as those did in Egypt, which were near the Nile (Vitruvius, lib. iv. cap. 5); and as the Building here does on this Lamp, the Draught of which was communicated to me by the Learned Mr Ward, Rhetorick Professor of Gresham

College. To whom I must own my self obliged for the first Knowledge of this Curiosity, as well as his Ingenious Conjecture concerning it."[1]

The *Victoria History of London* records this find, and reproduces the engraving of it at the half-size, pointing out that "the figure on the bank is really handling a net and is not a soul waiting to be ferried over the Styx by Charon."[2] This is the representation of a fishing incident which has already been compared with the Roman worship of the Celtic god Lud at Lydney, and which forms perhaps the closest direct connection with that cult.

There are other remains which have been classified as belonging to temple buildings. The most important was discovered by Sir Christopher Wren, and described as follows in his *Parentalia*:

"The parochial church of St Mary le Bow in Cheapside requir'd to be rebuilt after the great fire. . . . Upon opening the ground a foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended fabrick, which (on further inspection after digging down sufficiently and removing what earth or rubbish lay in the way) appear'd to be the walls, with the windows also and the pavement, of a temple or church of Roman workmanship intirely bury'd under the level of the present street . . . to range with the street-houses of Cheapside, to his surprise he sunk about 18 feet deep through made ground, and then imagin'd he was come to the natural soil and hard gravel, but upon full examination it appear'd to be a Roman causeway of rough stone close and well rammed with Roman brick and rubbish at the bottom for a foundation, and all firmly cemented. This causeway was four feet thick [the thickness of the Via Appia, according as Mons. Montfaucon measur'd it, was about three Parisian feet, or three feet two inches and a half English]."[1]

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[1] Knight's *Life of Erasmus,* p. 301 and pp. 302–303.

[2] *Victoria History of London,* p. 25.

If we take the Walbrook as the centre of the river-worship of Roman London, together with the sites of temple buildings at Goldsmiths' Hall and St Mary-le-Bow, there is a considerable area which apparently would have been mainly devoted to the worship of the gods. It is not, however, too extensive to meet the facts. It would be much less than the total of the independent areas devoted to the Christian Church in the city of the Middle Ages and of to-day, and it will help us to understand a condition of things which will arise when, in the next chapter, we shall be discussing survivals. London's religion was, as we have seen, a great thing under the Celts. It continued a great thing, and became a greater thing, under the Romans.[2] As a religious centre Roman London makes a special appeal to the historian. The appeal has always been neglected — indeed, has scarcely been understood. But cities in the ancient world were religious cities,[1] and to understand early London it is necessary to understand its religion.

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[1] Wren, *Parentalia,* 1750, p. 265.

[2] The bronze figures of Apollo, Mercury, Cybele, Jupiter, and Atys (Roach Smith, *Illustrations*, plates xv.–xix.) also illustrate the character of the religion of Roman London.

Roman bowl found at Bishopsgate, in Guildhall Museum.

Pavements, baths, columns, sculptures are the chief signs of the material remains of Roman London. These go towards creating the picture, but do not create its atmosphere nor its design. Language, costume, and religion make the strongest combination of evidence upon which to build up the reconstructed elements of Roman London. Not only was the official language Roman, but the people's language was also Roman. Roman men and Roman matrons dressed in a style of which the sandal is the type, although the colder climate of Roman London might have demanded something different. If Roman worship was continued, not only in the temple, but in the house, there was not only a city organisation of the Roman type, but also a family organisation of the Roman type. If, with this in mind, all the material fragments could be gathered together and placed in a museum ground in some sort of fashion approximating to the original find-spots, there would be revealed the presence of a city in Roman Britain possessed of a full Roman life, and above all things of a full Roman organisation—greatest city in Roman Britain, greatest in extent, in wealth, in culture, greatest in influence.

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[1] Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 225.

It is important to note one thing more. London, in taking up the position of city-state in Britain, was only following upon continental examples of which Nîmes, Arles, and Trier are the most famous examples. Candidates for the office of Cæsar in the later Empire fixed their seat of government as their first great and essential act. And the city so selected became the Rome of the new Cæsar. Much the same happened to London. She could not rival the cities of Gaul in the position attained under this experience because of her island position, but she moved in the same direction.

Coin of Carausius.

At this point we come upon events which must have happened within this city of Augusta, but failed to be recorded by history. There are only spasms of light thrown upon the long period of four hundred years during which the Roman Empire included amongst its city-institutions the civitas of London, and the loss of Fronto's oration addressed to Antoninus Pius on the British war[1] is serious when we have so little. The famous story of Agricola by the great historian Tacitus only makes regret for the loss the stronger. It

Coin of Alectus.

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[1] Eumenius, *Panegyr. Constantio Cæsari*, 14.

is, however, important to note that the Roman historian, poet, or panegyrist noted events in Britain for one purpose, namely, the uprising of a claimant to the sovereignty of the Empire. Britain was the veritable home of conspiring candidates for the purple. They include not only ambitious rebels, but great rulers, and London, as its coinage shows, is always the centre of their doings. Carausius made his headquarters there, and the followers of Alectus fought their last fight there. Albinus was elected in Britain, and the army fought for him before the city of Lugdunum. Lollianus, Victorianus, Postumus, the two Tetrici, and Marius are supposed to have assumed the purple in Britain. Bonosus, of British blood, and Proculus were supported by Britain. Magnentius, also of British blood, was emperor for three years. And in a later age there are also Marcus, Gratian Municeps, Constantine — an obscure soldier with a great name—and Maximus who were invested with the purple by the army in Britain. To have produced men of this type Britain must have possessed and preserved the spirit of Empire, and with the spirit the outward manifestation of it—all the ceremonial formulæ which appertained to the dignity of the Augustus and the Cæsar of the Empire, the Roman system of government by the city, Roman laws,

Coin of Albinus.

Coin of Lollianus.

Roman power and wealth, and above all, the Roman political atmosphere.

Coin of Victorianus.

Coin of Postumus.

Locked up in this Roman city of Augusta there are whole masses of constitutional ceremony, laws, and practices which become London customs, London law, and London usages during the long period of history through which we are going to work. Because we cannot unlock the Roman gateways and get a full view of these origins in their every form, it does not mean that we cannot get at them at all. These sort of things are capable of living on in the minds of generations who have succeeded those who actually lived under them. They survive the material shell in which they were generated, or in which they developed, long after it was destroyed. The great fact of continued life will restore to a considerable extent the home from which they have come. It will do more than this. It will show the vitality and the power they possessed, and it will show their enormous utility to those later ages unconscious of the question of origins. Origins belong to historical science; institutions are matters of present life. The pages of London records are strewn with the formula "according to ancient custom"—a source of strength through all the ages, in all the struggles. And that ancient custom will be found behind the gateways of Roman Augusta.

There is surely in this state of things a parallelism, beyond the formal remains, material and constitutional, between the city-institution of Rome and the city-institution of London. Both developed along the lines of city-state, Rome to become mistress of the world by conquest and by government, London to become mistress of new elements in a new form of civilisation. The results are so different that the sense of comparison is not apparent. This, however, comes not from the results, but from the causes. These are so alike that we must recognise their common origin in the projection of city civilisation beyond the range of the city domain into the range of the state domain—in a word, we have arrived at the institution of the city-state.

Coin of Tetricus.

There are no new discoveries, no new material facts described in this chapter. All the objects have been before the archæological world for many years. But they have not been called upon to surrender the full story they have to tell. I am not satisfied with their museum values, and so have endeavoured to find out what living force they possess. They mean much in the life of the great city, standing for certain aspects of city life which did not cease when London was pushed out of the Roman Empire. She was a Roman city at the beginning of her history in England. We shall see her being gradually absorbed into the English state, gradually and peacefully, not suddenly or forcefully. And absorption did not mean destruction. Her position among institutions in England was not the position of a city, but of a city-institution. These are the essential facts of this earliest stage. They must govern the historical consideration of the later stages, and they give to Roman London the foremost place in her great history.

CHAPTER IV

THE SURVIVAL OF THINGS ANCIENT

THE modern city of London in the midst of a larger London is the survival of an ancient thing. It is the product of history, not of a sovereign power or of political statesmanship. It appeals for protection to history, and in a mute sort of way the appeal is answered. It is the greatest survival in the country, not necessarily the most remarkable, but certainly the greatest, because, though resting mainly upon custom and tradition, it has legal and institutional status.

IMP CAES M AVR MARIVS P F AVG

Coin of Marius.

It is not improper to make this the starting-point for an inquiry as to whether we should expect to find within this shell of survival many internal elements which, surviving themselves in a strong form, have helped to preserve through the centuries the survival of the shell itself. I think this way of stating the position is a good one; but whether it be so or not, the fact remains that in the city of London there are more survivals from past history than can be found within the compass of any other British city, or of any other area in Britain.

These survivals form an important part of the story of London, and we must examine the nature of them before proceeding with evidence of the influence they have exerted through succeeding ages. There are primary and secondary survivals. Primary survivals are those which are identified directly with the original, a simple continuation, in a gradually less perfect form, of custom, rite, or belief which were once living parts of the social organism. Secondary survivals are those which are caused by or result from an original element in an early social organisation, but have grown to be something different from the original itself because they have gone on developing during their period of survival. Roman London possesses both these kinds of survivals. The primary belong to London as essential parts of its Roman life. The secondary belong to London as parts of its later life derived from Roman London. The secondary survivals, by far the most extensive as they are the most important, supply the evidence for the continuity of Roman influences.

Coin of Maximus.

There is, too, a specially Celtic survival which appears most strongly in the post-Roman period, that period of a hundred years which has been neglected by the historian. It is synchronous with the uprising of Celticism all over the country, against which the historian Gildas wrote so bitterly, and which assisted, if it did not produce the strength of, the long struggle between Saxon invader and Celtic

Briton. The Roman cities of Britain were, as we have seen, left to govern the country by the departing Romans. But they could not do it alone. There was no cohesion amongst them. They formed neither a federated nor a state government. Their fighting forces were hopelessly insufficient, as legion after legion of the Roman army of occupation passed along the roadways, constructed by and for the legions, to the ports of embarkation. London must have witnessed this terrible sight with a feeling of painful bewilderment, for so many of the roadways converged upon her—eight out of the fifteen great roadways of the province. In their dilemma the cities turned to the tribes. The Celtic Britons at the end of the Roman period were still tribesmen. They were in the mass neither Romanised citizens nor nationalised Britons, though attempts have been made by great authorities to prove both these conditions. The proof of tribalism is contained in many important facts. The most important of these facts is that after being driven finally into the hills of western Britain—Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall—they lived the tribal life in accordance with an elaborate system of tribal laws which were codified in post-Roman times. They had also a tribal religion, for the Christian Church in Wales was tribal in form, as Mr Bund has conclusively shown.[1] Of less importance, but of great significance, are inscriptions as at Caerwent, which show the independent tribal organisation of the Britons acting on occasions in friendly association with the Roman city. The Caerwent stone was erected by order of the civitas of the Silures in honour of a Roman officer named Tiberius Claudius Paulinus in command of the second legion, who had also been proconsul of the provinces of Narbonne and Lugdunum in Gaul.[1] The tribal organisation of the Silures in the third century is here shown to have remained untouched by the Roman civilisation of the city, though it formed part of the usual Roman system of government adopted in lands occupied by tribal peoples.

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[1] F. W. Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church in Wales.*

The cities and the tribes fought the English together, and the strangeness of this amalgam of wholly dissimilar institutions appears over and over again in the personal and political history of the period, and above all things in the traditional history of the period. Generals, Roman trained, if not Roman born, become the heroes of Celtic tribesmen whom they led to victory. Celtic chieftains become the heroes of the cities when they took up the task. It is in strict accord with this that history or tradition says of Vortigern that he convoked the citizens of London.[2] It is not surprising that the Roman Artorius, of whom we are told that he "used to fight against the Saxons in company with the kings of the Britons, but was himself *dux bellorum*," developed into the hero-king Arthur; or that the Celtic Gurthrigernus should, even in his woeful unsuccess, become a centre-figure for the contempt of cities. The legend or the history of Ambrosius is to the same effect. He was son of a Roman consul, he rose to greatness after the death of the valiant Vortimer, son of Gurthrigernus, and became chief among the kings of Britain.

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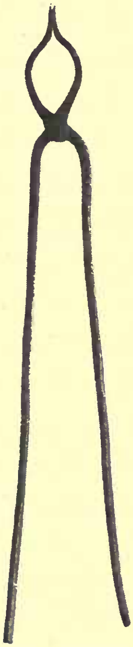
[1] This inscription does not appear to have been published. It is not given in the *C.I.L.*

[2] Matthew of Westminster, *Chronicle*, lib. vi. cap. vii.

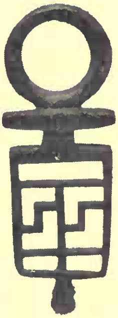
Amidst this material for the making of heroic tradition there arises a great conception which has nothing to do with the personalities of the city's life. There is not a single London hero in this tradition. It concerns itself entirely with the faiths, the hopes, and the culture of the city. Separated into fragments by its unequal record, it resumes its original unity when investigation of it is complete. My own experience in working out the various phases of research into this tradition will help to an understanding of what the tradition is. I began with the discovery of the several fragments, treating them as independent survivals having no relation to each other. Included in these fragments is religious custom solemnly carried on year after year in obedience to no higher authority than that of custom; a series of legal customs obviously carried on almost under protest in obedience to the same authority; traditions which


Roman pincers, iron, in Guildhall Museum.

relate to a lordship exercised by London under a "King of London," whose title is repeated in historical documents and evidence; traditions which relate to a reverence for London in its material aspect. We may fairly conjecture that what is to be found now are but the very last survivals from a much larger body. My next stage of research was the discovery of connecting links between all these apparently disconnected fragments. Then I discovered, further, that a certain group of these fragments of London tradition came to us not from London herself, not from Londoners who had taken upon themselves to record customs and traditions, but from Welsh sources. The linked-up unity of the separated fragments assumed a further element of unity in the one source, and that a Welsh source, for the carrying on of the tradition. The last stage in my research was to discover the origins of the traditional fragments as a unity, in the religious practices, the legal ceremonial, the political instincts of ancient Rome. No scholar is likely seriously to dispute these various conclusions when they are before him at length. He would not suggest that the clergy of the early English Church would deliberately select

Roman pincers, iron, in Guildhall Museum.

a known pagan cult for incorporation in the service of their cathedral; that lawyers fresh from a revived study of Roman law at the great school at Abingdon, or in the monastic establishments, would deliberately copy the practices of the Roman forum or of the Roman religion in its corporate form; nor would he suggest that the Welsh agency for carrying on the tradition prevents the looking back to Roman origins. There is no room for surmises that would deny to such evidence the value of an archæological discovery, and he must look to Roman Londinium for the source of that discovery.



Roman key, bronze, in Guildhall Museum.

We will pause for a moment at an interesting place-name which occurs in the boundary of the Tower, *temp.* Richard II. The entry describes this boundary as "from the water side unto the end of Pety Wales to the end of Tower Streete."[1] The name Pety Wales may be a corruption from a name wholly unconnected with Wales, but in view of the survival outside of the place-name of Walworth it does not seem extravagant to class the city name also as a survival. That it had a recognised position is shown by early documents. A grant dated 22nd January 1353–4 by "Joan Potyn, widow of Gilbert Potyn of Petit Wales hard by the Tower of London," relates to tenements and quay and other "appurtenances in the parish of All Saints Berkynggechirche in the lane of Petit Wales." Another grant, dated Christmas 1397, is a demise "of a house or mansion situated to the eastward of the said Thomas's wharf in Petit Wales in the parish of All Hallows Berkyngchirche hard by the Tower of London." A third deed dated 20th December 1424 is a grant of "two tenements with adjoining quay and appurtenances situate in Petit Wales Street."[1] Stow mentions this district of Petty Wales, and records an additional fact of importance, and then proceeds to state a tradition. The additional fact is that "towardes the east end thereof, namely over agaynst Galley Key, Wooll Key, and the Custome House, there have beene of olde time some large buildings of stone the ruines whereof doe yet remaine." Then comes the tradition: "The common people affirm Julius Cæsar to be the builder thereof. Some are of another opinion, and that a more likely, that this great stone building was some time the lodging appointed for the Princes of Wales when they repayred to this citie . . . and where the Earles of Briton were lodged without Aldersgate the streete is called Britaine Streete."[2] It will be said at once that such a tradition is worthless, but let it be considered side by side with the general Welsh character of London tradition and it will be found entirely consistent with all that is known of the position of London in post-Roman and Celtic times. In particular it reveals clear relationship to that kingship of London which in tradition shows Welsh kings deriving power from "the crown of London" and paying tribute to "the King of London," and in historical documents shows the King of London to be subordinate only to the King of the English.

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[1] *Archæologia,* vol. xviii. p. 280.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections,* vol. iv. pp. 335–337.

[2] Stow's *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. i. p. 136.

The conclusion is inevitable, namely, that the tradition of London arose amidst the doings of the century during which the history of London was so strangely silent. It reveals the Celt turning in his distant homes, during his hard struggle for political existence, towards London as to the centre of all movement political and military, always towards London and to no other city in Britain. It shows, further, the wonderment of the Celtic tribesman for the buildings of the great city, buildings constructed by giants, and for the wealth that is contained in these buildings. The wonderment of the Celt is the measure of his traditions about London, the expression of his belief in giant builders is the measure of his ignorance of such buildings.

And then, finally, there is the tradition of a strong Celtic religious reverence for London, which can only be explained by the continued existence under Roman guardianship of the old Celtic worship of the god Lud, added to the continuous ritual of the Roman worship of Diana. To the archæological evidence of this worship, as set out in the last chapter, is to be added the historical and traditional evidence of its continuance. If this city religion was as strong in reality as it appears in tradition it would have left evidence of its vitality. As Friedländer says generally of the religion of the Empire, "not only is the persistence in late antiquity of all Greek and Roman cults of importance an undisputed fact, but also the retention of obscure and local cults, ceremonies, usages, and forms which were no longer intelligible is amply attested in the case of so many different lands that considering this extremely tenacious vitality of religious tradition any great or essential diminution of it in the course of centuries appears on the whole inconceivable";[1] and he considers that "belief in the gods maintained itself for nearly five hundred years against Christianity, by which it was finally overwhelmed."[2] As far as Britain is concerned this is fully borne out by a remarkable passage quoted from a treatise ascribed to Tertullian in which he mentions "the districts of Britain untrodden by the Romans but subject to Christ."[3] This clearly means that the Roman centres retained their Roman religious beliefs and observances. The evidence of London having been governed by these rules of religious changes in the Empire is, I believe, contained in the transactions of the early seventh century

Roman steelyard, bronze, found at St Mildred's, Poultry, in the Guildhall Museum.

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[1] Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, vol. iii. p. 155.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

when Bishop Mellitus was turned out of London by its pagan citizens, who had a high priest of their own.[1] The historian does not state what paganism this was, and it has been hastily assumed to have been Anglo-Saxon. All the evidence is against such an assumption. Neither Eadbald's Christianity nor Eadbald's recently rejected Wodenism appealed to London, and the antagonism to the influence of the Kentish king is most likely to be expressive of the antagonism of London paganism to the Kentish paganism, or of the ancient religion of the Empire at its decaying stage meeting in a last struggle the new religion which was entering on its mission. There are no signs at all of Anglo-Saxon paganism in London. The supposition is based entirely upon the theory of Saxon dominance of London throughout, of which there is no evidence at all. On the other hand, there are many signs of Roman paganism, and their final form is surely in the St Paul's ceremony of the seventeenth century. I have argued, and shall argue again, that the ritual of St Paul's down to the seventeenth century preserved the actual rites of the Roman worship of Diana, and that this reveals a religious strength which back in the ages must have told strongly for the conception of London as the mother city of both tribal Celt and Romanised Briton.

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[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. ii. cap. vi., in 616 records that the Londoners would not receive Bishop Mellitus, "choosing rather to be under their idolatrous high priests, for King Eadbald had not so much authority as his father, nor was he able to restore the bishop against the will and consent of the pagans." "Mellitum uero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus seruire gaudentes. Non enim tanta erat ei, quanta patri ipsius regni potestas, ut etiam nolentibus ac contradicentibus paganis antistitem suæ posset ecclesiæ reddere."

I am aware that at present this view of the tradition of London is not clear, and that the proof of it has still to be worked out in detail, but I hope soon to publish my proof in a separate study. Classical students are fully conscious of the value of city traditions, as Mr Leaf has recently shown in his study of Troy, and the London tradition is not less expressive. It will be a new epoch in London history. It will show that London during the Celtic revival was great beyond Welsh conception, because of the magnificence of her Roman life, and, above all things, because she was the centre of a Celtic religious cult. This double stream of Celtic tradition, plainly discernible in forgotten and unheeded survivals both of belief and ritual, places Roman London in an altogether unique position, makes of her an institution outside the tribal conceptions both of Celt and Saxon, and gives her quietly, through this means, a position which no other means could have secured.

One cannot resist the conviction that this tradition of London, arising during the great Celtic uprising of the fifth century, is the tradition of real events—events by which London assumes, or is endowed with, the attributes of a city-state. These attributes, of course, never became either in origin or in continuation as the attributes of Rome had become in origin and continuation. They were on a much more lowly scale. But they were of the same order. London exercising certain rights, constitutional not revolutionary rights, in connection with the sovereignty of the kingdom; London using Roman laws in opposition to English law; London possessing in its cathedral ritual of the seventeenth century fragments of a Diana temple worship, is a city with particularly definite characteristics.

London therefore comes from the silent fifth century as a living entity by the help of Celtic tradition—a tradition which I think includes the restoration of the name of London. This name had been displaced under Roman rule by the honorific name of Augusta, and I have suggested that it was retained throughout for the inner city.[1] It was, I think, restored to the larger London by Celtic influence. Palgrave conceals in a footnote his opinion of the significance of the restored name of London: "the old name must have remained in constant use amongst the common people."[2] This is, however, meaningless historically. The question is, Who were the common people? The only people who could have influence in such a matter at this time were London citizens and Celtic outsiders, and the latter are the more likely to have brought about

[1] *The Making of London*, p. 56.

[2] Palgrave, *Hist. of Eng. Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 385, note.

this interesting restoration of the ancient Celtic name.

It is in accord with this conception of events that the Boudicca tradition should have been preserved in the name of "Boadicea's tomb" given to the well-known mound on Hampstead Heath. I have elsewhere explained the true meaning of this mound as a Roman boundary mound,[1] but the fact that it has been used as the locus to mark the one historical record of the destruction of London helps us to understand the full significance of the absence of a corresponding record of destruction in Anglo-Saxon times. Whatever history there was to record of this period would have been Anglo-Saxon history, in speech, in form, in chronicle, or in poem; and Anglo-Saxon history would not have been slow to put on record the destruction of London.[2] Anglo-Saxon thought went wholly to the destruction not to the conservation of cities. In the great poem of Beowulf we seem to have English alterations of a Scandinavian original, and one of these alterations is the most remarkable description of the treasure-house which the hero attacked, and which is shown by Dr Stjerna to be a close description of a Roman public building.[1] In the poem preserved in the *Codex Exoniensis* we have the cry of the barbarian destroying a civilisation he did not understand, and expressed in the same terms as the Celtic cry of misunderstood admiration. Giants, not men, built the cities. Ruins of magnificence were the glorious results of their undoing. The slaughter of warriors innumerable sanctified the proceedings, and the whole picture represents a wonderment forced upon the successful invader.

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[1] See my *Governance of London*, pp. 100–103.

[2] The charming account of Archbishop Ælfric's method of historical research makes this certain. "And straightway he sent for all the wisest men he anywhere knew of, and also those excellent men who could say the truest how everything had been in this land in the days of their elders, besides what he himself had learned from books and wise men" (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 995, trans. by E. E. C. Gomme).

Wonderous is this wall-stone,
the fates have broken it,
have burst the burgh-place.
Perishes the work of giants,
the roofs are fallen,
the towers are tottering,
the hoar gate-towers despoil'd,
rime on the lime,
shatter'd the battlements,
riven, fallen,
under the Eotnish race;
the earth-grave has
its powerful workmen;
decay'd, departed,
the hard of gripe are fallen,
to a hundred generations
of people are pass'd away.
Oft its walls withstood
Raeghar and Readfah,
chieftain after other,
rising amid storms.

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[1] Stjerna, *Archæology of Beowulf*, p. 38. (Appendix IV.)

Rapidly prone it fell;
yet wanes

. . . . .

drew the swift,
the bold of purpose in chains,
proud of spirit bound
the aliens with wires,
wonderously together.
Bright were the burgh-dwellings,
many its princely halls,
high its steepled splendour,
there was martial sound great,
many a mead-hall
full of human joys,
until that changed
obdurate fate:
they perish'd in wide slaughter.
Came pernicious days;
death destroy'd all
their renown'd warriors.
Their fortress is become
waste foundations;
their burgh-place has perish'd;
atoning bow'd
their bands to earth:
therefore these courts are dreary,
and its purple arch
with its tiles shades
the roost, proud of its diadem.
At its fall the plain shrank,
broken into mounds.
There many a chief of old,
joyous and gold-bright,
splendidly decorated,
proud and with wine elate,
in warlike decorations shone;

look'd on treasure, on silver,
on curious gems,
on luxury, on wealth,
on precious stone,
on this bright burgh
of a broad realm.
The stone courts stood—
the stream with heat o'erthrew them
with its wide burning;
the wall all encompass'd
in its bright bosom.
There the baths were
hot on the breast:
that was desolating!
Let then pour

. . . . .

hot streams,
. . . . .[1]

This is a great poem. The brute force of it seems to beat against one's brain, the admiration and glory of the tumultuous deeds it sings of seem to win one's very soul. And then somewhere, an unknown somewhere, perhaps in the halts between word and word, sentence and sentence, somewhere between the rugged unevenness of each thought, there arises an echo of something otherwise, something of regret, shame, at the very wantonness of the destruction of things so colossal, things so expressive of man's great handiwork, not giant's work, after all, but man's. The poem is a chapter of Anglo-Saxon history, and the great fact about it is that it does not, cannot, belong to the history of London. Such a chapter of the city's history would have occupied the place now occupied so fully by Celtic tradition, and would have sent a thrill through all succeeding ages. The thrill never comes. It is only dead silence—the silence of a hundred years—and such a poem does not come from silence. That it answers to no conditions that are discoverable about London, to no connection with events which belong to London, is proof positive that the Saxon did not enter London as Boudicca had entered it three and a half centuries agone with axe and sword reeking with the blood of slaughtered Londoners—did not, in fact, enter London at all as conqueror.

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[1] *Codex Exoniensis,* pp. 476–8, edited by Thorpe, whose translation has been checked by Mr E. E. C. Gomme for the detailed wording.

Unfortunately the silence of the Saxon has had more influence upon historical inquiry than the tradition of the Celt. And yet the silence if read by the light of this poem tells the same story as the tradition, namely, that London was not within the sphere of Anglo-Saxon action. As no one can believe that this was the deliberate result of Anglo-Saxon policy in connection with their conquest of south Britain, it must have been the result of necessity. The necessity arose from London's defence of herself. London kept the Anglo-Saxon outside in the open country, and we shall presently discuss not only the evidence for it, but the equally remarkable evidence which followed the recognition of London's position in a scheme of national defence when the English stood at bay.

This, then, is the situation we have arrived at by the voice of tradition. Unconquered London, undestroyed London, lived on in Celtic thought and Celtic estimation for at least a hundred years. She herself was full of dismal anticipation of the inevitable as well as of great hopes, and always occupied in keeping alive what had come to her from her Roman organisation. There is no record of conquest or destruction, no evidence of a general conflagration. There is nothing but the mere surmise of desolation coming out from the silence of history.

If we consider this position in relation to the group of Roman institutions which were kept alive during this period, to be used by future generations of people who knew nothing of Roman institutions, we shall find that there is no room for such a surmise, no room, indeed, for any other conclusion than the continuity of London from Roman into Anglo-Saxon history. If Roman London was not conquered and destroyed it could not have been squeezed into the small areas of Anglo-Saxon polity. It is an absolute impossibility from the institutional side.

The continuity of Roman London is expressed by survivals both of a material and a constitutional kind.

There is no inherent improbability in the buildings of a Roman city remaining intact through the Anglo-Saxon dominance where there was no definite destruction as at Anderida and Silchester. Thus Giraldus

Cambrensis describes the remains of Caerleon which were existing in his days, the twelfth century; immense palaces, towers of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of temples and theatres, all enclosed within fine walls, parts of which remain standing, aqueducts and stoves to transmit the heat. Something parallel to this may well have been the condition of London, and I have urged in a former work[1] that Alfred looked upon many a Roman building, as well as Roman walls and defences, when he took count of London in his plan of defence against the Danes. This position is supported by evidence which extends to modern days in spite of ceaseless and wanton destruction and neglect.[2]

Of material remains, situated in the very heart of London, the most striking is the complete plan of a Roman building that has been discovered under Leadenhall market. This is described as of considerable extent, with the foundation of an apse thirty-five feet wide, and it appears to have had the form of a basilica in some respects, with an apse at each end, western nave, and two chambers, like transepts, on the south side. Many of the walls still remain buried under the market, and some of them have been opened up on more than one occasion.[3]

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[1] *The Making of London*, p. 81.

[2] Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 2–7, quotes some pertinent examples of modern destruction of Roman London.

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii. p. 245; *Victoria Hist. of London*, pp. 74, 107; *Illustrated Topographical Record of London* (Lond. Top. Soc.), p. 1 contains an illustration showing "some arches of Roman work."

It has been suggested that these undoubted remains of a public building belong to the Roman forum. If this conclusion is correct, and there seems no reasonable doubt about it, the continuity between Roman London and the London even of to-day is expressed in the quite remarkable fact that the site upon which these remains stand has always been public property,[1] always the property of the community and never of a private owner,[2] always belonging to London, whether urbs, civitas, burgh, city—whether Roman, Saxon, Norman, or English. A fact of this kind is complete in all its aspects, and history cannot produce from its archives any record more telling. The Saxon name, Leadenhall, is a translation or adaptation from the Latin, not a free gift from the English tongue, and when the complete lists of Saxon words in use as translations from the Latin have been fully examined by philologists, Leadenhall will find a not unimportant place. It is evident that it signifies to the Saxon mind much more than a Saxon building, a building, therefore, which must have been standing during the period of Saxon dominance, and inherited, with its characteristic lead construction, from Roman London. Of churches built on Roman sites London possesses many examples,[3] in common with other parts of Britain. The fact is important in many ways. A more complete survival of Roman building is the square tower which is represented in the Aggas map between Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and remained nearly intact until 1763, when, fortunately, a drawing of it was made by Gough.[1] It shows the courses of stones and tiles, and is compared by Roach Smith with the towers at Richborough, which were built solid at the bottom, hollow in the centre, and united to the main wall again at the top, the cavity being probably intended for a small room provided with loopholes for the watchers. This interesting survival from Roman times was used as a chamber, and a window occupied the place of a loophole.

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[1] "Occupied upon a common ground" is Stow's phrase. Kingsford edition, vol. i. p. 156.

[2] Thus the remarkable petition of the citizens in 1519 quoted by Stow (Kingsford edition), vol. i. pp. 157–9, protests against "the great place called the Leaden Hall" being "letten to farme to any person or persons."

[3] See my *Making of London*, p. 93.

The most picturesque of the constitutional survivals is the jurisdictional terminus at Mile End.[2] Colchester and London both possess this feature of a Roman city, and in spite of objections to such a conclusion, the fact that Mile End is a military centre and a criminal centre at the earliest times recorded by history is sufficient to prove the same facts for the period before the records of history. The point is perfectly plain. These two characteristics are in existence when history begins. They have only one parallel in the prehistory period, and this parallel belongs to Roman institutions. History does not give them a beginning, only a record of existence.

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[1] This drawing was copied by Fairholt, and is used in C. R. Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 16. It is reproduced *ante*, pp. 46, 47.

[2] See my *Governance of London*, pp. 104–6, for the details.

There is nothing, therefore, between them and the Roman institution of which they are survivals. This is explained in detail in my *Governance of London*, but, since writing that, further evidence from comparative sources is forthcoming in support of my interpretation of this significant place-name and its association, namely, the existence of a jurisdictional boundary in other Roman cities in Britain. The most important example is at Silchester. This boundary is one mile distant from the Roman walls and follows precisely the peculiar irregularity of the city, proceeding over level or higher ground without reference to geographical or natural considerations. This boundary is to this day the dividing line between the Silchester manors and outside manors.[1] One cannot ignore comparative evidence of this kind. If it is conceded for Silchester's unnamed boundary, it must be conceded for London's Mile End, which is not only a place-name but a military and criminal jurisdictional boundary in relation to London. It is the first step in the tracing out of the continuity of London as a city in arms, and the first step arises in Roman London.

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[1] I am indebted to Mr J. B. Karslake for this valuable discovery not elsewhere noted. Mr Karslake added to the value of his information by driving me round the outside boundary and giving me this opportunity of studying it in the field as well as on the map. I should like to refer to a parallel line of research in Roman city remains, and Dr Frothingham's interesting account of the discovery of colony arches at Verona affords me the opportunity, *Roman Cities in Northern Italy and Dalmatia*, p. 251.

In connection with this there is another important fact. The army that went forth to meet Hengist and Æsc at Crayford fled to London on being defeated, and I have argued that the army thus sheltered was the citizen army of the Londoners, which fought at Crayford because it was the limit of the city territorium to the south-east. A small point affords a useful fact which tells for confirmation of this view. The British force which fought at Aylesford in 455 is stated to have been commanded by the British king, Vortigern. The commander at Crayford, two years later, is unnamed. There is surely a reason for this difference of historical treatment, and I think it is to be found in the fact that it was the chief citizen who, by virtue of his office, led the London army against the foe at London's boundary.[1]

On the same line of argument, the institution of the pomerium is alone able to account for the belt of city jurisdiction and possession which gives it wards without the walls as well as wards within the walls. These extra mural wards show that the wall of the city is not the boundary of the city. The real boundary is jurisdictional not physical—that boundary beyond the wall which separates the custom of the city from that beyond the boundary, which differentiates the land tenure and the succession laws of the city from those of the surrounding country, which places the citizen within the jurisdictional boundary in a position which though constitutionally advantageous is controlled by the city government. Protected by no physical methods, such a boundary has been preserved throughout the ages by the pure force of its jurisdictional value. Later events prove this, for when the Danes first settled in London, as it is stated in the Chronicles, their settlement was not within the walls. If it was within the pomerium they were entitled to say it was within London. It was their London, and this is what I think explains the many conflicting accounts of these events. It is confirmed by a curious feature in the boundaries of Westminster on its city side. There was an unexplained stretch of territory not included in either the city or in Westminster, and which contains evidence of Danish influence.[1] If this stretch of territory adjoining the boundary of the city and not within the boundary of Westminster was part of the London pomerium in which the Danes settled, it would afford the only reasonable explanation of all the complicated facts of recorded history. Another piece of the pomerium may perhaps be traced at Finsbury, where the city has possessed rights the origin of which is lost in history. Similarly, I believe that the maps of London when they are sufficiently examined will supply further traces of jurisdictional boundary outside the walls which can best be explained on the theory I have advanced.

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[1] See my *Governance of London*, pp. 97–8.

The same argument also applies, only with more certain evidence, to the institution of the territorium.

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[1] See my *Governance of London*, pp. 191–5.

London frequently appears in chronicle and city records as a city with "lands which belonged thereto," to adopt the words of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, history thus recording the bare fact but not the origin. It is this kind of record which compels a glance at the prehistory period, and there London's great church of St Paul's is found to possess extensive lands all round the city, to be, in fact, as Hale expressed it in his *Domesday of St Paul's*, "a corporation possessed of manors and churches, and having to fulfil to their tenants the same duties, and receive from them the same services, as other lords of manors." The position of the Cathedral manors is important in relation to London. Nine of them are at Willesden, while thirteen others—Pancras, Rugmere, Totenhall, Kentish Town, Islington, Newington, Holborn, Poripool, Finsbury, Hoxton, Wenlock's Barn, Mora, and Eald Street—are found to occupy a belt of land of no inconsiderable breadth from the walls of the city of London towards the north. The church in this case, as at Winchester, Carlisle, and other cities, became in part the political successor of the Roman city, and gifts by will bestowed "within London and without London" expresses the significance of the situation.[1] Mr Reid points out that this same kind of evidence is used "in determining the limits of municipal territoria in ancient Italy as in other parts of the Roman Empire," and adds that "in the latest imperial age the bishops acquired supremacy in most of the municipalities, and the limits of their dioceses corresponded very generally with those of the old civic territoria."[1] The church did not, however, absorb all that was left of the institution of the territorium. The city retained territorium rights, though not territorium possession. She had sherifan jurisdiction over the whole of Middlesex, and, as Mr Round puts it, "Middlesex was never separate from London."[2] She had rights of chase confirmed to her citizens by Henry I. "as well and fully as their ancestors have had." She held "the moor of London" as her own property, and the title used accidentally in the records[3] is not without its significance. "The whole water of Thames belongs to the city from shore to shore as far as the Newe Weare."[4] Rights at Staines, rights at Richmond, rights at Crayford, rights all round the walled city, which can be accounted for only as survivals from the Roman institution of the territorium, appear at the beginning of recorded history as already ancient. I agree with Mr Lethaby that the theory which best fits the facts as to the origin of Middlesex is not the creation of a Middle Saxon folk, with full tribal organisation, capable of stamping itself upon English soil, but the deduction to be drawn from all late evidence —the evidence of mediæval as of Anglo-Saxon records—that Middlesex was in fact "the cuntre of London," as it is called by Capgrave[1] in his description of the western boundary of Essex.[2] This expression exactly fits the position. The city and the church divided between them the possession and the rights over Middlesex. Possession and rights are inheritances from some previous conditions, not grants from powerful sovereign, not forceful acquisitions in time of anarchy, but simply inheritance. And the only source of this inheritance possible is the Roman institution of the territorium.

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[1] Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 514.

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[1] J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, pp. 143, 451; and see my *Governance of London*, pp. 106, 223.

[2] Round, *Geoffrey of Mandeville*, p. 347 *et seq.*

[3] Riley's *Memorials*, p. 374; *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. p. 8, notes a grant in 1288 of land in "la more," and in 1315 a release was given by the Prebendary of Finsbury of all his claim in "la mora de Haliwell et de Finesbiri."

[4] *Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* (Camden Soc.), pp. 40, 62. New Wear was in the neighbourhood of Yantlet Creek.

The early commercial greatness of Roman London —there is no evidence of anything earlier—is always admitted. The continuation of this greatness is seen from the historical records. It is Roman law, surviving to the Middle Ages almost unaltered in practice, though never appearing as a formulary, which made this commerce possible. When Henry I. framed his great charter to London, he granted the right of London to tax other towns as other towns taxed London. This was simply confirming a right already possessed of forming commercial alliances with other cities, a right which is a direct survival of the system adopted in Roman towns.

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[1] *London before the Conquest*, p. 123.

[2] Capgrave, *Chronicle of England* (Rolls edition), p. 100.

Again, in the matter of succession to land. All round London, right up to the outer ward boundaries of the city, the manor is the land unit. Inside the city there is no such thing as a manor. The sokes aimed at manorial jurisdiction without the manorial organisation, but they never became manors, never lived, to quote Mr Maitland's expressive definition of the manor, as "a single group of tenants who worked in common at their ploughings and their reapings."[1] In the extra London manors the succession to land was for the most part by junior right or gavelkind. Inside the city, succession to land was by a formal custom which had for its object the settlement of the legal rights of wife and children to shares in the property of the husband and father.[2] This custom was a restriction upon individual rights of the citizen, and as such is clearly traceable to the Roman codes.[3] Here the doctrine of survival is emphasised by the contrast which is drawn at the city boundary between city and extra city land-systems.

These conclusions are forced upon us by the lawyer rather than by the historian, and the lawyer seeks his origins in the realms of applied logic rather than in the less fruitful regions of recorded fact. Thus in discussing the doctrine of *rationabilis pars*, which is the *legitima portio* of the Theodosian code (ii. 19, 4), Mr Spence says: "In some parts of England, particularly in Kent, in London, and in York, it appears to have continued in uninterrupted succession from the time when Britain was a Roman province. It was afterwards extended so as to become the general if not universal law of England."[1] And he also points out the extremely important fact in this connection, that "it is still usual for the city of London to plead its franchises, confirmed as they have been by parliament, not as royal grants or as deriving their force from legislative sanction, but as customs existing from time immemorial." Through the medium of its local tribunals, many ancient customs which were at variance with the general law, such as the allodial right of devising lands, the claims of the wife and children upon the personal estate of their parent under the name of *pars rationabilis* ("the remains of the old common law," Kemp *v.* Kelsey, *Prec. in Ch.*, p. 596), and the right of appointing guardians to orphans by the magistrates of the city (4 Inst. 248), "were kept up in London long after the conquest. Indeed, the custom of London as to the *rationabilis pars* of the personal estate of a citizen dying intestate, and some other of these customs, remain in force in part at least at the present day."[1]

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[1] *Select Pleas of Manor Rolls*, p. xl. Norden's definition is equally expressive: "Is not every manor a little commonwealth whereof the tenants are the members, the land the bulke, and the lord the head?" (*Surveyor's Dialogue*, 1607, p. 28).

[2] I have given examples in my *Governance of London*, p. 139.

[3] Justinian, lib. ii. tit. xviii., is the basis of this comparison between Roman and London law. *Cf. Ulpian*, lib. iii. 1–17, and *Cod. Theod.*, ii. 19, 4. The modification in the London law of the exact provisions of the Roman law does not seem to me to affect the question of origins after reading the opening words of Justinian.

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[1] Spence, *Equitable Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery*, vol. i. p. 188.

London in this respect was doing nothing strange. She only followed the general practice which arose out of the final break-up of Roman power. Mr Story, in his work on the *Conflict of Laws*, puts the point in the following manner: "When the northern nations, by their irruptions, finally succeeded in establishing themselves in the Roman Empire and the dependent nations subjected to its sway, they seem to have adopted, either by design or from accident or necessity, the policy of allowing the different races to live together, and to be governed by and to preserve their own separate manners, laws, and institutions in their mutual intercourse. While the conquerors, the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, maintained their own laws and usages and customs over their own race, they silently or expressly allowed each of the races over whom they had obtained an absolute sovereignty to regulate their own private rights and affairs according to their own municipal jurisprudence. It has accordingly been remarked, by a most learned and eminent jurist, that from this state of society arose that condition of civil rights, denominated *personal rights* or personal laws, in opposition to territorial laws." The eminent jurist here referred to is Savigny, who, in his *History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, speaking of the state of things which existed between the conquering Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, and the races conquered by them, says: "Both races lived together, and preserved their separate manners and laws. From this state of society arose that condition of civil rights, denominated *personal rights* or *personal laws*, in opposition to *territorial laws*. . . . In the same country, and often indeed in the same city, the Lombard lived under the Lombardic, and the Roman under the Roman law. The same distinction of laws was also applicable to the different races of Germans. The Frank, Burgundian, and Goth resided in the same place, each under his own law, as is forcibly stated by the Bishop Agobardus in an epistle to Louis le Debonnaire. 'It often happens,' says he, 'that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting together.'"[1]

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[1] Spence, *Court of Chancery*, vol. i. p. 97; Pulling, *Customs*, p. 6.

These are the outward signs of the survival of a Roman city constitution. They are supplemented by the far more remarkable survivals of city governance and of city-state conditions. The evidence of Roman continuity of city governance is contained in the antagonism of the Anglo-Saxon to a power greater than he was, a power which he had to fight when he entered London, and which he never conquered. This power was on the side of law and order, on the side of an autocratic governing authority, on the side of a successful administration, and the Anglo-Saxon finds himself up against all this. The next chapter will contain the evidence for it.

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[1] Coote's argument for these same conditions in London (*Romans of Britain*, pp. 292–3) is ingenious and very tempting, but it depends upon the correctness of the equation, Wyliscean = Roman.

The evidence of the survival of Roman city-state conditions cannot be contained in a single chapter. It comes into every phase, every period, of London history, and is contained in the quite remarkable constitutional relationship which London has with the national sovereign power—not the relationship of an overbearing revolutionary capital city during a period of revolution in the nation, but the relationship of a quiet, determined exercise of influence and action, always of the same kind, always tending to the same purpose, always having the same effect, always exercised by an organised city community. The working out of this survival is difficult until the key to the problem is supplied, and then the position becomes clear enough. It would have been satisfactory without the whole of the evidence which is happily forthcoming. With that evidence complete at so many stages, coming back through the ages in terms of an almost traditional formula, sanctioned by continuous usage, there is no room to doubt of London's exercise of city-state powers, and there is no room to doubt that they were directly inherited from Roman London and applied by the city successors—English, Norman, modern, successors of the Romans of London. If London does not, during the decay of the Empire, assume a position such as

Nîmes, Arles, and Trier were allowed—the position, that is, of city-state in the Empire, parallel to Rome itself—it is certain that it carved out of its Roman origin a position for itself in the outer world of Britain, a position not altogether unlike that of its sister cities on the Continent, though belonging to a lesser sphere of operation. The position of the great French and Italian cities in relation to national politics has not been worked out. When this is done it will be found that the independence of London in Anglo-Saxon times, and the survivals of this independence which brought about its struggle against the mighty powers of English Plantagenet sovereignty, were of the same general kind, and proceeded from the same source, namely, the political system of the Roman Empire.[1] A parallel of this kind is worth much to the student of London. London was differently placed, because it was not free from the external sovereign. But it was struggling against this sovereignty on precisely the same lines as the Italian cities were exercising their independent powers, and because London was struggling and they were free we must not imagine a fundamental difference in the position of the English city and the cities of the Continent. The common origin from which that position was derived is the connecting link between them both.

We shall see in succeeding chapters how the more important survivals are indeed much more than survivals. They are continuations during successive ages of history. Each generation of London citizenship used them as the position of affairs demanded. They therefore never retained their purely external Roman character. They were Englished or Normanised or mediævalised or modernised as demands upon them were renewed again and again. It is all to the good, therefore, that we find them in altered form as survivals. They are survivals plus continuations, and the remarkable thing is that they retain enough of their original form for the inquirer of to-day to be able to identify their internal character as survivals. We have by their aid established the principle of continuity in the life of London, and we have to ascertain whether that principle remains in active operation throughout the later periods — whether Roman London sent its tendrils forward to grip first the local, then the national, and finally the imperial character of the English city. At no time has London been ready to assume an expansion into empire greatness, but at all times has she stood out for state influence. Her influence on the state is the parallel, the microscopic parallel, she obtained from her Roman beginnings, and we shall find that it lasts right through the course of her history.

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[1] On this point it is worth while consulting Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Bury), vol. v. pp. 302–3.

If London ceased to participate in "the glory that was Rome" it helped largely to establish the greatness that is Britain, and one would not too closely compare the relative merits of the two positions. What we have to do now is to go forward with the evidence, the evidence of survivals and of continuity which have established in our midst not merely a great city, but a great city-institution.

CHAPTER V

ENGLISH INCOMINGS

THE date or period of the English entry into London is not known, and cannot be known. There is no history of it, no mention of it in Anglo-Saxon history. They certainly did not enter it tumultuously or at a rush. They appear there without any prefatory action, and Beda's casual allusion to "a certain Frisian in London," Lundoniam Freso cuidam,[1] in A.D. 679, does not lend colour to a general English occupation. I have expressed the opinion in a former work that they overflowed into it, as it were, and did not even deliberately enter and attempt to take it over into their polity. This opinion is confirmed by all the evidence I have learned since. When we are able to catch a glimpse of the doings of the English in London we find them there vigorously unsuccessful. They attempt to dominate London with English ideas of rule and governance, and are not only vigorously unsuccessful in this main object, but they lay bare the sources of their unsuccess in the looseness of the tribal institutions which they would substitute for the ancient civic organisation. The roughness of their attempt in this direction lies heavily on the institutional life of London, but the skill, triumphant in its delicacy, of those who opposed the drastic operation also reveals itself. The interest of this particular point is extraordinarily great. It answers not only an important problem in the life of early London, but it illustrates in a peculiar way the characteristic of English governing power, wherever and whenever it has been exercised. This power proceeded from the new conception of lordship which followed upon the Teutonic eruption on Roman government. The note of the new system was lordship, with its accompanying vassalage and personal ties. Everywhere do we see this development. We need not pause at the variations between the different degrees of lordship, the series always ending in the unquestioned lordship of the king; we may perhaps note the special characteristics of the *beneficium*, its derivation, according to the best authorities, from the ecclesiastical tenure of the *precarium* when church lands were seized; but the one dominant note is that of lordship and vassalage taking the place of state government on the imperial basis of Rome.

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[1] Lib. iv. cap. xxii.

London in due course came under the influence of this new element of lordship, and the moment when a great statesman, who was also great soldier and great king, great scholar and great man—Alfred the Great of England—deliberately entered London with the settled purpose of bringing it into Anglo-Saxon polity, that moment in the year 898 when he surveyed

London, recognised its strategical importance, and determined to use it in the struggle against the Danes, marks unmistakably the one great epoch in the history of London which made it English London as well as Roman Londinium. From this date London was always prominent in the struggle of the English against their enemies. She took her share right gloriously, standing by Eadward, Athelstan, Eadmund, as Alfred would have had her stand if he could have commanded her in this respect. She then at last owned as of right her new name of Londonbyrig and entered the English political system. The significance of King Alfred's action, however, is not in what followed his acceptance of London's position, as in the circumstances which surrounded this unique transaction. The king evidently goes to London as to a strange city—surveys it, takes stock of it, gauges its strategical and other importance ; and only after these extensive and singularly formal acts, carried through not in the city itself, but outside the city at Chelsea in solemn conference, is it agreed to strengthen and adapt London for the fight. This conference follows the precedent set throughout Anglo-Saxon history. All Anglo-Saxon institutions were outside the city. Kings were crowned at Kingston, not in London. They were anointed at Westminster. The assembled witan met not under cover of a great hall in the city but *sub dio* in the open country, and on the few occasions when the gathering was in London it was held principally for church not state purposes. It met at Celchyð frequently.

There is no record like this in all English history. It is as accidental as it well could be. It is not derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, from Asser's *Life*, or from any chronicle record, but is simply the introductory sentence to a charter, A.D. 898, granting lands at "Retheres Hide," near London, to the See of Worcester. "Contigit convenire in loco qui dicitur Celchyð Alfredum regem, Plegmundum archiepiscopum, nec non Æderedum ducem partis regionis Merciorum et Æthilflædum sororem regis cosque conloquium habuisse de instauracione urbis Lundonie."[1] Whatever the exact meaning of "instauracione" may be, it does not mean rebuilding. It is a translation word found in the Anglo-Saxon glossaries, and equates with "change" rather than any other meaning. In any case, it cannot relate merely to the restoration of a devastated London. The whole episode suggests a strange, almost, one would say, a foreign city, a city that, at all events up to that date, was not an English city. London had been in the midst of the Danish onslaught, and on the whole the conflicting records do not tell for the capture and occupation of London by the marauders. Their settlement was in London, not within the walls; Aldwych stood for them as London, was in fact their London. Alfred's act was most likely directed to bringing up to date defences that were not so use ful as they might be for his purpose and his resources, and the conference to settle this had before it another and deeper problem as well as the ostensible and minor problem. London had already fought for herself against the Danes, and had fought not only successfully but independently. This is quite clear from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* The conference was to settle whether London would fight for the English, and what would be her then position as a defensive city of the nation. This was the real problem before that great conference.

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[1] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. ii. No. 577.

It was solved right gloriously. London in fighting on her own independent plan would be at the same time fighting for all England. The best evidence of this result is in the year 994. "Here in this year came Anlaf and Swegen to London with ninety-four ships, and they were fighting constantly against the town, and tried also to set fire to it; but there they sustained more harm and evil than ever they imagined any townsmen could do unto them."[1] The same evidence is given by Saxo Grammaticus, who, describing the treachery of the Danes against London, which they could not capture, introduces us to a London hero, Daleman, killed by their treachery.[2] The state had never defended London, and here we have London defending the state by defending herself. It is the story of an almost independent city. The city in arms as the city in peace had not hitherto been an integral part of the nation, and what King Alfred had done with his conference was to bring home to both nation and city that the old independence must come to an end and be exercised, if exercised at all, on constitutional lines.

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* anno 994, trans. by E. E. C. Gomme.

[2] *Saxo Grammaticus,* trans. Elton, lib. ii. cap. 50.

London answered to the call, and there is therefore to consider what were the immediate effects upon her position as a city of the English. The facts are soon revealed. That London already possessed laws and governance of her own when the dawn of recorded history thus breaks once more upon the city is certain. That there was added to these two elements of city life another and antagonistic element is the new experience which arose from these events. There grew up within the city something besides the more ancient laws and governance—not Anglo-Saxon laws, but Anglo-Saxon customs; not Anglo-Saxon governance, but Anglo-Saxon institutions, occupying subordinate not dominant positions.

These institutions have to be considered, not from their superficial side, their titles, and their general attributes, but from their actual position in the city. The folkmoot held in the open air on a piece of land, *qui dicitur* "folkmoot," near St Paul's, and attended by all citizens in the primitive fashion of a primary assembly, is entirely Anglo-Saxon in form. But it possessed no powers of government. All it possessed was the power to grumble, to protest, to use its ancient Teutonic formula, "Aye, aye" or "Nay, nay," as against the pronouncements of the discreet men (*probi homines*) of the city. The history of the folkmoot of London is one of the most instructive chapters in the reconstruction of the early period. It is always struggling to be dominant, but is never dominant; it is always trying to assume powers, and is always dominated from above by those terribly discreet men of the city who continue to govern in spite of folkmoots and their formulæ, and who in the end witnessed the wiping out of the folkmoot altogether, and its removal from amongst the city institutions. This struggle for power reveals two distinctly opposite institutions, so distinctly opposite as to impose upon us the conclusion that they are derived from two distinct sources. We know the folkmoot in its unsuccess was English; we can only conclude that the body of discreet men was, in its success, Roman in origin. There is no other argument to adopt. In the course of this struggle, illuminating points crop up at several stages, all of which tend to confirm this conclusion; and when the folkmoot is attended by "the populace, sons of divers mothers, many of them born without the city, and many of servile condition, with loud shouts of 'Nay, nay, nay,'" we are in presence of the tumultuous Anglo-Saxon, looking beyond the walls of London to the English settlements around, from whence he derives whatever power he possesses.

This is well illustrated in the mediæval proceedings, and I shall not hesitate to quote these as absolute survivals of proceedings which had been going on ever since the Anglo-Saxon had entered London. There is nothing of Plantagenet character in these proceedings. They do not belong to Norman history. They can only belong to Anglo-Saxon history, and they bring with it the evidence of the real governance of London by direct continuity from Roman times.

These proceedings, showing the fight between the popular assembly or folkmoot, where every citizen had a right to attend, and the smaller body, are well related in the *Chronicles of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London*, 1188 to 1274. In 1249, upon the abbot of Westminster and his advisers desiring to hold a conference with the mayor and aldermen, "the whole of the populace opposed it, and would not allow them, without the whole of the commons being present, to treat at all of the matter" (p. 18). Again, in 1257, on the occasion of charges being made against certain aldermen, the king gave orders to the sheriffs to convene the folkmoot on the morrow at St Paul's Cross, upon which day all the aldermen and citizens came there. The proceedings are fully described, but the passage interesting to us is the following: "To which inquiry (no conference being first held among the discreet men of the city, as is usually the practice), answer was made by some of the populace, sons of divers mothers, many of them born without the city, and many of servile condition, with loud shouts of 'Nay, nay, nay'" (p. 38). In 1262 we have the following remarkable passage: "The mayor, Thomas

FitzThomas, during the time of his mayoralty, had so pampered the city populace that, styling themselves the 'commons of the city,' they had obtained the first voice in the city. For the mayor, in doing all that he had to do, acted and determined through them, and would say to them, 'Is it your will that so it shall be?' and then if they answered, 'Ya, ya,' so it was done. And, on the other hand, the aldermen or chief citizens were little or not at all consulted on such matter" (p. 59). In 1265 the populace cried "Nay, nay" to the proposed election of William FitzRichard as sheriff, and demanded Thomas FitzThomas (p. 91). In 1266 "the low people arose, calling themselves the commons of the city" (p. 95). In 1271 the old dispute broke out again in the election of mayor, and the record of this is very instructive (pp. 154–156).

It is instructive in many ways. Nowhere in London archives or in London tradition do we have the English method of electing the Mayor, Portreeve, or whatever other title the head of the city was called. The English method survived in other municipal towns but not in London. At Folkestone, Seaford, Southampton, High Wycombe, and other purely English towns the ceremony of electing the chief magistrate belongs to the domain of primitive politics and is of the same character as that of electing the King on the sacred stone at Kingston.[1]

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[1] See my *Primitive Folkmoots,* pp. 153–155. The London stone ceremony is referable to an entirely different origin.

London contains no trace of such a custom in connection with the intruding folkmoot of the English incomers, and this negative evidence is of importance.

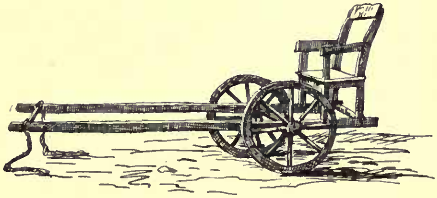
The folkmoot disappeared from London institutions. It may have eventually developed into the Common Hall, the one institution of the city which represents the purely democratic element. But even here it is to be noted that it is engulfed by the city organisation; it did not itself engulf, it is engulfed. It is admitted no longer as the open democratic meeting in the open air for any purpose, but as the restricted democratic meeting in the Guildhall for definite purposes. "Aye, aye" and "Nay, nay," no longer the formula, is still the principle. The Common Hall accepts or rejects the nominated mayor. It is the electoral college for certain other offices. But, again, it has no strong functional powers, and its more ancient powers of assembling whensoever it would at the call of the great bell of St Paul's and grumbling as it had a mind to, is replaced by limited powers of meeting and by strictly limited functions. The city government could not perhaps destroy it, could not easily destroy it at all events, and it was therefore brought within the roofed limitations of the Guildhall, its functions being fenced in on every side with a precise ceremonial of so pronounced a character as to supply evidence of the limitations imposed. And finally the cathedral authorities laid sacrilegious hands upon the site of the ancient meeting-place—*qui dicitur* folkmoot, as the records proudly call it.

There is no record of the first institution of the folkmoot, only of its struggle and its disappearance.

One other institution has a somewhat different history, but the same practical result. I mean the Court of Hustings, with its significant English title. In this court all kinds of real actions for the recovery of lands and tenements within the city and its liberties are cognisable; and in this language we can easily recognise a translation of that which would have described the archaic duties of the old tribal assembly, especially if we take into consideration the exceedingly curious powers which attend proceedings under this court. Just as in the Icelandic Housething, it has to deal with each case straight off—it is a court of emergency. When it gets conventionalised the procedure is still archaic in form. The recorder must pronounce judgment, and forty freeholders form the inquest, chosen from twelve men and the aldermen from the ward where the tenements in question lie, and the same number from each of the three wards next to the said tenements. Such a court as this was the result of no political legislation. It is the descendant of that archaic assembly which belonged to every tribal community. It held sway in the city as the highest court, and it has become obsolete. It came into the city from without, and there is no record of its entry. It ceased to exist there, and there is no formal record of its disuse.

This would apparently supply evidence of a temporarily successful English intrusion into the governance of London. But it is so in form only. The Court of Hustings administered no primitive form of land tenure. There were no manorial customs of descent to adjudicate. There is merely the law of London, and the method by which the city kept its powers in this court is fully recorded in the archives which have been so fully published by the corporation.[1] The Court of Hustings was English in form, but it was dominated by the civic authorities.

In the conditions of these two institutions we have the real facts of London history during Anglo-Saxon rule in the country. The folkmoot remained English in form and in constitution, but it was never allowed to assume a position in the organised government of the city. It was dominated from above. The hustings remained English in form and in constitution, but it was dominated from within. The mayor and aldermen were its chief members, the administration of a limited section of London law, not English law, was its only duty. Powerful enough to force these two institutions into the city, the English incomers were not powerful enough to make them essential and dominating institutions of the city. And so their



Tumbril, used for punishing offenders.

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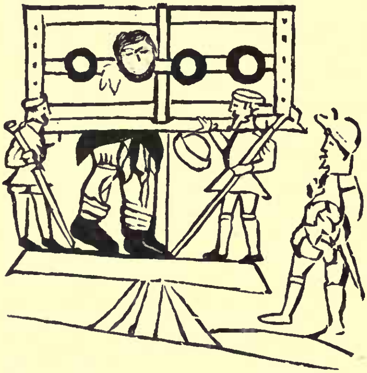
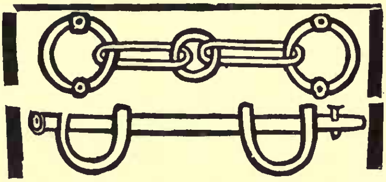
[1] *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, Lond.*, *A.D. 1258–1688*; see p. xii of the introduction.

disappearance, by the process of absorption and assimilation, is the measure of their influence upon the city.

This evidence is that of impotent forcefulness, not the strength of a new governing people, and beyond this there is nothing of supreme importance which comes to later London from Anglo-Saxon London. Even the famous example of London legislation known as the *judicia civitatis Lundoniæ* does not bequeath a clean-cut Anglo-Saxon institution. To it we may perhaps have to refer the origin of the later English gild system. But it is not a document which speaks of Anglo-Saxon dominance. It speaks of London necessities under Anglo-Saxon rule, and shows the resourcefulness of London statesmen. Its purpose was to prevent robberies in the country committed upon London merchandise. Its method of doing this was to institute a citizen gildship which should have the same procedure and the same powers outside London as the Anglo-Saxon tribal kinships had there—the powers of defence, reprisal, and wergild. These belong to a tribal system, not a state system of polity. London by this act, it is true, adopted Anglo-Saxon methods for London purposes,


The pillory, from Harman, *A Caveat or Warning*, 1567.

but by so doing it declared in unmistakable language that at this period of its Anglo-Saxon existence it was not governed by Anglo-Saxon rule and procedure. It was the only means left to it to secure protection for its trade in an Anglo-Saxon-governed country, and so, in its own practical manner, it adopted this means, as throughout its history it has adopted contemporary methods to meet the necessities of the moment.[1]



Fetters, from Harman.

And when we come to examine the detail of this gildship organisation, we discover further evidence of its special London characteristic. It is, after all, a London form of gildship based upon Anglo-Saxon formulæ, but not an English gildship of the accepted type. The keynote of its purpose is not, as every authority has insisted upon, its organisation for the common good to every gild brother, but it is the common enmity to those outside the gildship—"We should be all so in one friendship as in one foeship, whichever it then may be," are the expressive words of the city law. "Whichever it then may be!" And as foeship occupies by far the larger number of clauses of which the law is composed, it is not difficult to estimate the larger issue of the law, compared with the formal issue of the gildship. Brotherhood is one thing. It was needful to get the necessary banding together; perhaps it was needful to get the sovereign sanction to the exercise of the new London law beyond the bounds of London. Protection against the foe is quite another thing, and with the rights of wergild, pursuit, and retaliation preserved to the gildsmen there can be no question as to which is the dominant feature of the earliest gild of London.[1] If this institution is handed down to Norman and Plantagenet London as a heritage from English London, it is in the form of a London ordinance which was not English, and by the agency of a London governance which was not English.

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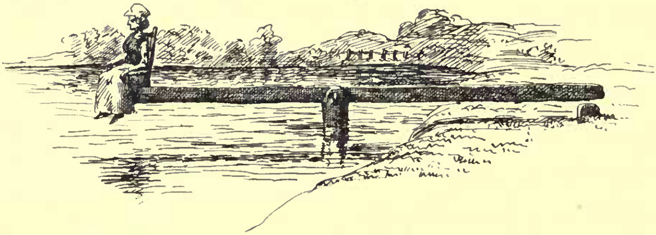
[1] I worked this out in my *Governance of London,* pp. 121–135.



Ducking stool.

On the other hand, there is something of significance in that a few minor things—minor in the scale of institutions, that is—may no doubt be scheduled among inherited items from Anglo-Saxon origins. The methods of punishment—the pound, the stocks, the pillory, the ducking stool, the drowning place—

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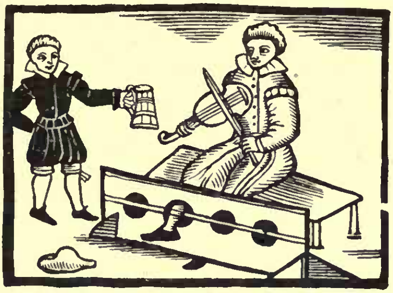
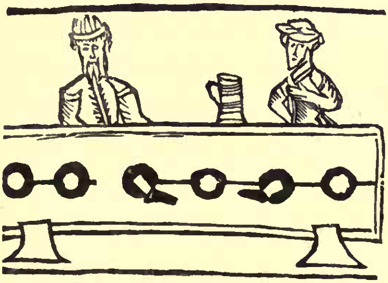
[1] A comparison with the Danish gilds is most useful on this point; see Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds,* Brentano's introductory essay, pp. cii–civ.

are of probable English origin.[1] Methods of punishment, however, come after the sentence of punishment, after the verdict and the judgment. The executioner or the gaoler is a less important officer than the law which condemns and the judge who imposes sentence; the judgment always belongs to the upper power, is always the mayor and aldermen in mediæval days; and the form of punishment alone comes from the lower power. Fragments such as these are not to be discarded or minimised. They have an importance all their own, and we have only arrived by their means at the same result which has already been reached.



The stocks, from an old ballad.



The stocks, from Harman, *A Caveat or Warning*, 1567.

Two further points are of interest in the consideration of Anglo-Saxon London—the meeting of the witenagemot there and the residence of the king. Liebermann has recently, at the Historical Congress of 1913, collected the principal facts on the national assembly in the Anglo-Saxon period, and enumerates twenty-one meetings in London, ranging from A.D. 790 to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. This is undoubtedly important evidence as to the position of London, but it is difficult to say in what precise direction. There may be a fragment of Anglo-Saxon history in another item, interesting on its own account, and occurring in a sixteenth-century book of accounts belonging to St Paul's Cathedral. It relates to "certeyn olde ruinouse houses and grounde lying in Aldermanbury, sumtyme the Place of Saincte Æthelbert Kyng."[1] Whether the naming of this place implies a residence in London of Alfred's brother and predecessor, or whether it is a postscriptum of the Cathedral church, one dare not say. It is a fragment with all sorts of possibilities if we only possessed its historical beginning.

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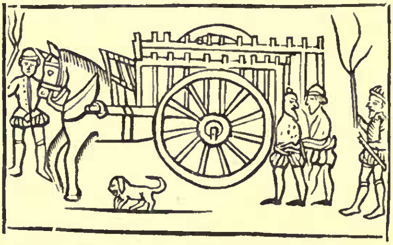
[1] See the curious "Judgments of pillory for Lies, Slanders, Falsehoods, and Deceits; as also other Judgments, Imprisonments, Forfeitures, Fines, and Burnings of divers things," in the *Liber Albus* (Riley trans.), pp. 517–526. The pillory was in Cheapside, the stocks upon Cornhill and in Lombard Street, judicial drowning at Baynard's Castle in the Thames.



Whipping at the cart-tail, from Harman, *A Caveat or Warning*, 1567.

Looking generally at the several phases of the London constitution, we can find no evidence of it ever becoming Englished as York, Chester, Winchester, Exeter, and other Roman cities were Englished. It is only outside London that we can discover the English institutions in their full strength. Anglo-Saxon sovereignty governed from outside London—at Kingston the crowning place in tribal fashion, at Westminster the assembly place in tribal fashion; and London remains from this cause the one capital city of western civilisation where the governmental centre is not within the city. This surely is conclusive. It shows not only the extent, but the limitations of Anglo-Saxon power. It could not penetrate into London. It could only govern from outside. This state of things falls into line with other evidence. The Danish settlement at Aldwych, resulting from the Danish conquest of the country, remained outside the city walls. At Rochester and at Dublin settlements precisely similar in character were inside the city. The English land tenure and village settlements remained outside the city boundary, came right up to it, and then were stayed by the city law of land tenure which descends from Roman sources. Instances of this occur quite late in historical evidence because land tenure changes so slowly. Common

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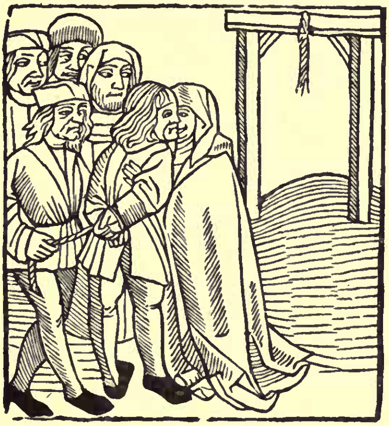
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. p. 44.



Gallows, from Harman, *A Caveat or Warning*, 1567.

fields of the Anglo-Saxon type are marked upon the early maps of London, while among the records there are many interesting evidences of this. A True Bill, 20th January, 3 Elizabeth, cites that "whereas the citizens and other inhabitants of London have been accustomed from time beyond the memory of man to shoot with bows in all the open fields in the parish of Stebbynhith, co. Midd. and elsewhere near the said city, viz. in the common lands called Stebbynhyth feyldes, Ratclyff feyldes, Mylende feyldes, Blethnall grene, Spyttle-feildes, Morefeldes, Fynnesbury feyldes, Hoggesdon feyldes, co. Midd. without hindrance from any person, so that all archers have been able to go out in the same open fields to shoot with the bow and come out from them at pleasure, in such manner nevertheless that the said archers do no harm to the growing corn nor to grass reserved for seed, John Draney, citizen and clothier of the city of London, has notwithstanding, on the aforesaid day, trenched in with deep ditches a certain open field called Stebbynhithe close and against custom has planted it with green hedges, in order that the said archers may no longer be able to enter, pass through and leave freely and at their pleasure the said field of Stebbynhithe Close." There is no mistaking the historical significance of this. The lands of Stepney, though they belonged to the cathedral of St Paul's, were not held by municipal tenures. They were entirely manorial, and the holders were not citizens of London, but merely tenants of the cathedral chapter, lords of the manor. They illustrate, as corresponding evidence all round London from maps as from records would illustrate, that Saxon and Dane, all-powerful and strong outside London, are struggling and unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain command in London ; and the fact that the Danish conquest supplies the most comprehensive parallel to the Saxon conquest is conclusive proof of the power of Roman London throughout Anglo-Saxon history.

We have now arrived at an important stage. London appears from the evidence to be extraordinarily independent of the English state, and even of the English sovereignty. She also appears from other evidence to have certain powers over the English sovereignty itself. This comes, in the first place, from the part which London played in the election of the Danish kings of the early eleventh century. If this action had ceased with the eleventh century, and with the Danish monarchs, there would not have been much to say of it. It was not only repeated in the restored Anglo-Saxon kingship, but it was repeated during the entire Plantagenet rule. It is impossible, then, to derive this important London function from Danish sources, and if we go behind the records of this date we find it necessary to appeal to certain conditions which once more take us to the Roman city of Londinium.

As in Gaul, so in Britain, the first act of an usurping Cæsar was to fix upon his city of government—his

Rome. There can be no doubt that both Carausius and Allectus fixed upon London for this purpose. It is a matter of recorded history that Artorius, the *dux bellorum* of the cities and the Britons, was crowned king at Silchester, Caerleon, and London. An elaborate description of the ceremonial at Caerleon is given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which is stated to be founded on ancient custom (*de more*), and has all the appearance of a genuine account from some ancient source. Honorius in 409 had sent Constantine a robe of the imperial purple as formal acknowledgment of his claim as joint emperor. At this point we may clearly refer to the Welsh attitude towards "the crown of London," and suggest that in London there was retained official knowledge of the Roman ceremonial at the inauguration of Emperor, Cæsar, or Rex; that the constant reference to the formula of "the crown of London" was, in fact, a reference to London as the only place in Britain where knowledge of the imperial ceremony resided, and that in this way London was looked up to as the source from which alone the sovereignty of Britain or its parts could be obtained. The claimants to the purple elected in Britain would have used that ceremonial to strengthen their sovereign power. The later post-Roman leaders, Aurelius Ambrosius and the descendants of Maximus, would carry on the customary observances; and when the early English monarchs appreciated the distinction, to use Mr Plummer's words, "between the immediate dominions or regnum of any king and the imperium or overlordship which he might exercise over other Saxon kingdoms or Celtic tribes,"[1] they too sought the ceremonial of the imperial purple. Edwin is recorded by Beda to have definitely assumed the insignia of Roman authority: "When he walked along the streets, that sort of banner which the Romans called Tufa and the English Thuuf was borne before him";[2] and Palgrave goes so far as to say that "if his reign had been prolonged he might have renovated the Empire of Britain."[3]

I am going to rely upon the fact that custom is stated to be at the root of all this for the necessary conclusion that we have in these disconnected fragments a historic basis for the continuity of Roman ceremonial, so far at least as it affected the sovereign authority. The city was a necessary factor in the situation, and if we can find that London exercises extraordinary functions in connection with the sovereignty in post-Roman times, there is strong claim for such functions being derived from ancient custom which reaches back to Roman Londinium.

We do not find such evidence until the early eleventh century, but it is then definite and clear, with no suggestion that it was an innovation. Taking each authority who supplies evidence of this as of almost equal value—as the recorder of a tradition capable of being authenticated at the date of the record, if not of facts obtained from historical data—we find that William of Malmesbury uses important terms. He describes "Londoners alone protecting their lawful sovereign within their walls," in the unsuccessful attack of Sweyn against Ethelred in 1013. He attributes Edmund's election as due to "the citizens immediately," upon the death of Ethelred in 1016, having "proclaimed Edmund king." He describes Harold's succession to Canute in 1036 in still more remarkable terms: "He was elected by the Danes and the citizens of London, who from long intercourse with these barbarians had almost entirely adopted their customs." Florence of Worcester and Roger of Hoveden first describe the election of Canute in 1016 by the witan, and then, as against this act, go on to say that "the citizens of London, and a part of the nobles who were at that time staying there, with unanimous consent elected the Clito Edmund king." Matthew of Westminster repeats Florence's account of Edmund's election, but gives another account of Harold's election. "Leofric and all the Danish nobles in London elected Harold." Henry of Huntingdon describes the election of Harold "at a great council held at Oxford, where Earl Leofric and all the thanes north of the Thames, with the Londoners, chose Harold." Ingulph, for what he is worth, says Edmund succeeded to the throne "upon the election of the Londoners and West Saxons"; and that "the Danes and Londoners made choice of Harold" in 1036. The terms used in describing these transactions are practically the same in all these authorities. There is nothing to be gained by attempting to discriminate between the language of Florence compared with that of William of Malmesbury or Roger of Hoveden. "Conclamant," "elegerunt" have a perfectly definite meaning, and when their nominatives are the citizens of London, "oppidani," "cives," and so on, the position of London in Anglo-Saxon times with regard to the English sovereignty is placed beyond question.

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[1] Plummer's *Beda,* vol. ii. p. 86.

[2] Beda, *Eccles. Hist.,* lib. ii. cap. xvi.

[3] *English Commonwealth,* vol. i. p. 429.

There is clearly much of significance in these records. They relate wholly to the Danish period, but not wholly to the Danish kings, for they begin with one great English king—Edmund Ironside—and the attitude of London towards Edmund was definitely and emphatically that of a city carrying out in a peculiarly strong way a traditional right. Moreover, the Danes cannot themselves have introduced a city ceremonial in connection with the sovereignty, for it was contrary to all their traditions and their practices. The alternative is that they used the London position to serve their own purposes, and the fact that the saga of these events, *The Heimskringla*, contains reference to the traditional formula, "London's king," in connection with a skald rhyme on King Canute,[1] is confirmation of this conclusion. It is the same formula as that which occurs in the Welsh laws, and it must refer back to the same conditions. We arrive then at this, that London had a special and definite relationship to the national or state sovereignty, that it was part of the city institutions, and that, broken as the record is, it goes back to the city institution of Roman Londinium.

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[1] *The Heimskringla*, trans. Morris, cap. cxciv.

There is one word by way of summary to add here. At the root of all these phases of London constitutional life during the Anglo-Saxon period lies the cardinal fact of continuity. Anglo-Saxon London was Roman London in all essentials, English London in nothing but sub-essentials—in its endeavours and not in its successes. The fact of continuity lands us at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period with a city fundamentally Roman in constitution, in relationship to the state, Englished perhaps at the fringes, Englished in its outlook, particularly Englished in its growing attitude of loyalty to the English state—in all else Roman.

CHAPTER VI

THE INSTITUTION OF THE CITY

The Norman brought English London into the English state—made it one of the great institutions of the English state. But not even the Norman kings, with their great genius for government and greater ambition, determined what precisely its position was to be. That was the work of London itself. It struggled to its new position. In the records of the city one feels the movement of the struggle—the writhing powerful body beneath the hand of inexorable sovereignty. But the fact of struggle, the fact that we have a struggling London in place of a free and contented London, is the measure of the city's adherence to its old life and methods. If it did not win all along the line, it at least determined that it was to be unlike anything else in a political state of the western world, that it was to be a new departure among political institutions, an experiment which, under the genius of a governing people, was to work through to a successful issue. The continuity of history and development did not cease. It was not even interrupted. The fresh stimulus and the new direction were switched on to the old driving power, and London began its final stage of city existence, never again to be a neglected city, never to be a conquered city, never, except in modern days, to be unconsidered in its greatness.

The work of the Norman was begun by charter grants. William the Conqueror began, and his successors continued, the practice of granting the city powers by charter. But a study of the powers in the charter clauses shows that the grants were in the great majority of cases not new to the citizens, not asked for by the citizens, not even required by the citizens. They were already existing powers charterised, if it is admissible to use such a word, by the

La cite de lundres ki est chef dengletere.
Brutus ki primes enhabita engleterre
la funda. e la ape la troie la nuuele.
la tur
la grant
Riue de tamise
lambeth
Westm
la s. pont
la iglise sei pol
Sei mar

London in the thirteenth century. Royal MSS. 14, c. 7.

sovereign. They were powers which the citizens possessed before the new-fangled thing known as a charter was imposed upon them; once more, then, revealing facts older than the historical record of their existence.

When charter legislation was introduced by the able statesmen of the Norman conquest, it became one of the greatest assets of the sovereign power, and the greatest moulding force of state and city. It brought civic custom and law within the authority of the sovereign. Its long duration and constant exercise show how the sovereign power was gradually, but effectively, bringing under its sway the civic powers exercised by the city independently of the sovereign power. It did more than this. It established the principle that what the sovereign had granted the sovereign could annul or alter. It brought the city under the ægis of the state—made it an institution of the state.

Old mayoralty seal (? thirteenth century) of the City of London.

In this new condition of things, London, working for the most part with its ancient machinery, took its place, and took it greatly. It never liked its charter grants, and when the occasion came to it, it swept the very conception of charters on one side and stood for its ancient communal rights in its old unfettered way. This is the foundation of the famous story of the commune if we read it in the full light of surviving and continuous history. It is neither sudden nor special. It comes from the ancient conditions of London, not from a copying of the cities of France. It is the reclaiming of an ancient right, not the grant of a new one. It is the city's demand, not the sovereign's concession. It is an acquisition so important as to amount to an abstraction from the sovereign power and the restitution of city power. This is the commune of London in its rightful place among London institutions, continuing from the oldest governing institutions of the city, proceeding to the new development which by reason of intervening events was found to be necessary.

The keynote of the commune is that it was not granted by way of charter. At a time when charter-granting, in front of the commune and after the commune, was the predominant policy of the sovereign power, it is unmistakably significant that the concession of the commune did not produce a charter. The reason is that it came from the demand of the citizens. They assembled in a body to demand it, and they, knowing by this time how charter grants could act against them, and that they were of little worth to them when the rights they desired depended upon traditional custom and usage, demanded and obtained the commune as an act between sovereign and citizen. "London learnt now for the first time," are the words of the chronicler, Richard of Devizes,[1]

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[1] Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi primi*, Rolls edit., vol. iii. p. 416.

"in obtaining the commune, that the realm had no king, for neither Richard nor his father and predecessor Henry would ever have allowed this to be done even for a thousand thousand marks of silver; how great are the evils which spring from a commune may be understood from the common saying—it puffs up the community with arrogance and frightens the kings." This common saying was accompanied by another: "Come what may, the Londoners would have no king but their mayor." This evidence is undoubted. It takes us back to that ancient kingship of London which is so evident in Welsh tradition during post-Roman times; it shows the Londoners of 1191 going back to their ancient constitution. The very name of the commune was dear to Londoners. It had been put forward as the authority for demands in 1141, as William of Malmesbury testifies—it was the ideal of London's constitution.

What, then, was this commune, of English origin and not of French manufacture—this *communa*, *communia*, *communio* (all three terms are used)? It was the right of common government by themselves, the right of legal recognition as a community, *persona ficta*, by the laws of the land. And it was a restoration, for the Normans had eaten into the city constitution by its sokes, little islands of personal jurisdiction within the city bounds which made the city appear as a bundle of communities instead of one community. It is the principle of the one community which was the basis of the commune. Once this was recognised all else fitted into the city organisation without further trouble and enabled London in 1215 to stand for its rights.[1] It has been suggested by some historians that London reaped little advantage from this act of John, Prince Regent, and traitor to his brother the king. But let them study the charters. Once more we see the point of view changing. William began with his "I will," and his successors followed with a formula to the same purpose. Charters from Henry I. to Edward I. were addressed by the king "to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, stewards, castle-keepers, constables, bailiffs, ministers, and all his faithful subjects greeting," and then proceeded, "Know ye, that we have granted and by this present charter confirmed for us and our heirs," etc. This

SIGILL' ROBERTI FILII WALTERI

Seal of Sir Robert FitzWalter, castellain or chief banneret of London, *temp.* Edward I.

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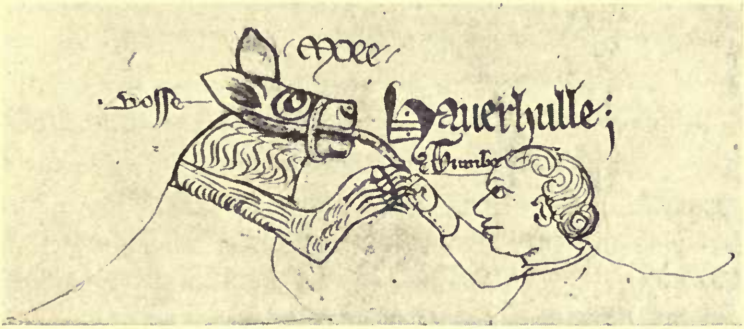
[1] In spite of Mr Round's brilliant study of the London commune I think the entire evidence points in the direction of my conclusion, and Mr Petit-Dutaillis's admirable summary of the evidence in his *Studies and Notes to Stubbs' Const. Hist.*, pp. 96–106, finishes with an expression which, though incorrect in form, is practically confirmatory of my view.

applied to all the charters which granted or confirmed already existing customs and rights, but when something absolutely new was the subject-matter a change came about, and the first charter of Edward II. denotes how drastic the change was to be, and how significantly it went back to early precedent. The citizens "had lately ordained and appointed among themselves, for the bettering of the same city, . . . certain things to be in the same city perpetually observed," and the king confirmed these "certain things." In doing this he was actually going back to the self-same procedure adopted by the citizens under King Athelstan. Both instruments were for the purpose of a change in the constitutions of the city. The citizens legislated for themselves. The sovereign endorsed this legislation in order that it might be recognised throughout the country outside the city. The closeness of this parallel in procedure is evidence of the continuity of London history—what was done in the years 900–912



Bear-baiting, from Chapter House.

under King Athelstan the Saxon was done in the year 1319 under King Edward the Norman.

During all this time, while London was settling down into its position as an English institution, things were happening which, if we could but even summarise, would reveal the inner working of London under its old system of independence. The great mass of its actions were unchartered—were not only unchartered, but were never considered as capable of being charterised. The state did not govern the people in the ordinary concerns of life. The land, the military forces, taxation, capital crimes, the administration of justice on the higher counts, were duties which the state attended to. The relationship of citizens to each other, the conditions of industry, the general order of things, were untouched by the state, and few subjects are more worth the attention of the student than a classification of state law and municipal law in mediæval times. It would show by way of contrast the ordinary manorial tenant to be almost unrecognised by the law, while the London citizen was protected by laws of his own, inherited or instituted. It would show London at the very top of things—London enjoying its heritage from its Roman beginning, hunting in territory extending all around to Crayford, Richmond, throughout Middlesex; performing ancient city rights so far away from city gates as Knightsbridge; controlling its magnificent river; and above its enjoyments and its outlook beyond walled defences doing a thousand acts of governance as matters which had resided always in the city.

We must illustrate the position by reference to some of the details. One of its acts is of supreme importance. It shows us once more the city in arms, not, as in Anglo-Saxon times, on behalf primarily of the city, but definitely assuming its military character on behalf of the state. In the wars under Stephen "there went out to a muster, of armed horsemen (*armatorum equitum*) 20,000 and of infantry 60,000" (Fitzstephen). In 1232, "cives Londoniarum monstraverunt se armatos a la Mile Ende et in foro Londoniarum bene paratos."[1] The great events of 1264 were assisted by London, the third division of the army of the barons being composed of Londoners.[2]

Among the many difficulties with which the city had to contend, the most bothersome was the jurisdiction of the Norman sokes. The greatest of these soke jurisdictions was, however, not personal. It was the collegiate church of St Paul's. The sociological side of the Church has never been worked out by the historian, even if it has been thought about, and when he comes to his task he will find the evidence of St Paul's almost directly to his hand. The cathedral constitution, revealed by events in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, shows traces of the original position of St Paul's as "the church of an exclusive body of clergy who owe to the bishop more respect than obedience," and the history of the cathedral "has tended from its foundation to make it rather the church of a city than a national or even a diocesan church."[1] This is an important addition to the history of London. The church reared its magnificent fane for religious purposes above the heights of other buildings in the city, and, with its extensive buildings, it was enclosed within walls and gates. Within this great enclosure in the heart of the city was a considerable community, not wholly religious in character or action, and depending for its economic necessities upon its landed possessions all round London. It was a great social, economical, political institution, and in 1142 there were "Barons of St Paul's."[2] It took up in this city-life part of the position held by the city itself in Roman times. St Paul's divided with the city governing authority the inheritance from the Roman city. It was the centre of London hospitalities in Plantagenet days.[3] It was encroaching upon the city position all through Norman and Plantagenet days, and documents exist showing how the struggle went on. In 1285 there came into the Guildhall before the mayor, aldermen, and other reputable men of the city, the Archdeacon and other canons of St Paul's, with the king's writ, setting forth a complaint by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter that Henry le Galeys, at the time he was mayor of the city, had erected houses near the wall of St Paul's churchyard, "their height exceeded the height of the wall, and the tenants threw dirt out of the windows and doors into the churchyard and walked to and fro the churchyard and their houses," and further, "that the houses stood so near the wall that their rain water dropped on to the wall," and stating that "it is adjudged in our court that the houses be pulled down so far as they are prejudicial to the said Dean and Chapter," and the city is commanded "to see the said judgment executed without delay."[1] In 1352 the Dean and Chapter are summoned to the Husting of London "to show their right to enclose with doors a lane near their church in the parish of St Faith, which was formerly the king's highway. On Monday after the feast of St John ad Portam Latinam, they produce a charter of Henry III., dated at Clarendon on the 24th day of November in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, granting permission to Master Robert le Barton, Precentor of St Paul's, to enclose a lane which formerly belonged to Cecilia de Turri near St Paul's, provided that a gate be placed at either end of the lane, with keys for going in and going out, in the event of fire or of such other misfortunes as frequently occur in the city. The Dean and Chapter therefore receive permission to maintain the enclosure."[1] At the pleas before the justices itinerant at the Tower of London, Hilary 14 Edward II. (1320), complaint was made that the Dean and Chapter had enclosed with a mud wall a piece of ground belonging to the king on which the mayor and commonalty used to hold their court, which was called folkmot, and on which was the great bell tower which the citizens used to enter in order to ring the great bell to summon the people; and "the jury present that the Dean and Chapter have placed two wooden posts at the corner of the lane called Southgate, which was formerly open for horses and carts, and have placed iron chains

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[1] *Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* (Camden Soc.), p. 7. The use of the word "foro" is a significant survival from language which philologists should explain.

[2] Matthew Paris, *Historia Major.*, anno 1264.

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[1] *Victoria Hist. of London*, pp. 409, 420; and see my *Governance of London*, pp. 320–322.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. p. 40.

[3] Stubbs' *Introductions to the Chronicles*, p. 67.

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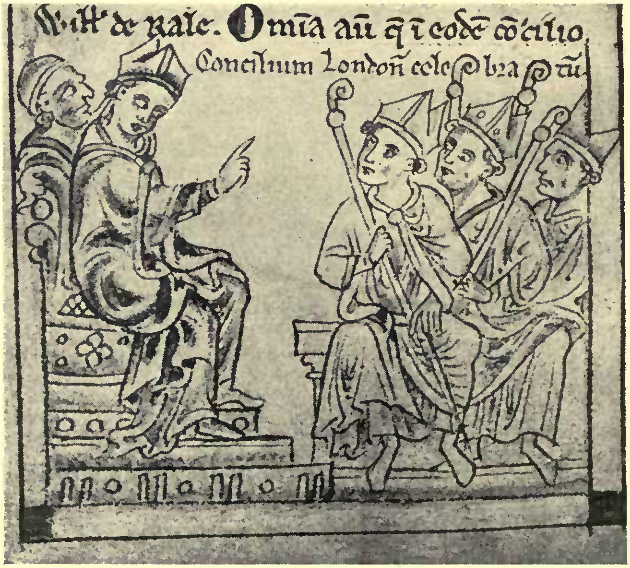
[1] *Letter Book, temp. Ed. I.,* pp. 213–4.



Ecclesiastical court in thirteenth century. Royal MSS. 14, c. 7.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. p. 10.

with locks across it," and the Dean and Chapter again produced their charter of Henry III.[1] The force of the king's charter at the Court of the Justices of the Tower was of course efficient, but at the city Husting Court it was also efficient. The city, as we shall see, did not bow tamely to the commands of the sovereign when he attempted to override city rights, and it is a reasonable conclusion that the influence of St Paul's, as an institution of the city, operated in its favour. We have here the last stage of the folkmoot of London.

In 1282 there was an important agreement between the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor (Henrie Sewallies) and citizens which further illustrates the position of St Paul's in its relation to the city, and incidentally shows that the complaint of 1285 just quoted was justified. It shows also how the Cathedral was setting up its walled enclosure within the city, and with what means it procured the sanction of the city. A suit was "dependinge by meanes of certayne shoppes builded aboute walles of the greate churchyearde of the saide churche of St Paule was apeased as followeth, viz. that we, the saide Mayor and the citizens of London, for the good unitie of peace to be kept touchinge the said contentions risen by reason of the same shoppes which shall remayne charged for the healpe of the buildinge of the bridge accordinge to the graunte of the Kinge, shall assigne, in a place ceartayne and meete in the citie afforesaid on this side the Feast of St John Baptiste in free preres and perpetuall almes to God and the churche of St Paule in London, ten markes of free and quiet yearely rentes towardes the newe buildinge of the chapple of the blessed virgine Mary at iiij common tearmes of the yeare to be paide and theireof under the forme aforesaide shall cause the said churche to be infeofed, which deade of infeofment wee shall procure as much as in us liethe to be confirmed by the Kinge. Also wee shall assigne five markes of like rentes unto a chapleine which shall selebrate for ever in the chappell builded over the place wheare the bones of the deade use to lie in the said church-yearde for the healthe of the said Lorde bishope, Deane and Chapter, mayor and citizens livinge, and for the eternall rest of the said benefacters of the same churche of St Paule deceassed. To the which chauntuarie or chappell as often as the same is voyde the mayor of the citie shall present a meate persoun to the Deane of St Paules churche, and trewlie se sincere charitie to be given and norished, as it weare of devote sounes unto the holly mother the cathederall churche. Wee the said mayor and citizens with good Faythe doe promise that from henche fourthe wittingeleye we shall doe or procure to be doune nothinge uniuste againste the rights and liberties spirituall or tempoorall of the same our mother churche of St Paule, but that the said Lorde Bishopp, Deane, and Chapter may in all thinges justlie use theire ould libertie, more over we doe promise by lawful stipulation that we shall make or cause to be made all maner of drops of water of the said shopes to be tourned away towardes the Kinges hieway, leaste any doe distille into the churchyearde or uppon the walls of the same, wheareby the same may receave hurte or to be made worse, and that we shall nott permite butchers, poticaris, gouldsmithes, cookes, or comon women to dwell in the same shopps by whose noyse or tumulte or dishonestie the quietnes or devotion of the ministers of the churche may be troubled, nor also shall suffer those which shall dwell in the said shopps to burne any seacooles in the same or such other thinges which doe stinke. More over at our owne charges we shall cause all the coffins of the bodies laetlye buried in the toumbes or hollow places of the outer part of the walle, towardes the north to be decentlie buryed or put at the leaste in three honest graves under so many tombes or hollowe places in the inner side of the same walle, and the said outward toumbes or hollowe places to stope up with lime and stone, moreover we, the said mayor and many of the Alderemen of the saide cittie, as fer as to our owne persons dothe aperteayne, doe graunte, and with good faythe doe promise to doe our best indevor with the commons of the said cittie, that it may be graunted unto the said Deane and Chapter that they may shutt all the gaets of the South Churche yearde of the Church of St Paule every night after courphew is ronge, so that they shall be opened early every day againe, that we shall not sett, procure, or cause to be sett any more shoppes without or beyonde the boundes conteyned in the charter or deadde of our Lorde the Kinge for the buildinge of the same shopes made, viz. beyounde the gate againste Ivey Laine towardes the west."[1]

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.,* ix. p. 49.

It is important to note that this agreement, dated at Guildhall on the morrow of All Saints 1282, was between the mayor and citizens, and that the mayor and aldermen were to do their best to persuade the commonalty to agree. The action of the mayor and aldermen is normal; the introduction of the commonalty to sanction what was done, when it was done, is a new feature in documentary history, but probably not in actual practice. Such cases do not disprove that the controlling force of the city was the power of the mayor and aldermen and the possession of city courts of law.

Later mayoralty seal of the City of London, 1381.

The law was the law of London, not the law of the realm, and there are cases which show these two systems in direct antagonism. Thus there was a sharp dispute arising out of the charter of Edward I. fixing the national weights to be used for foreign goods and merchandise, the city declaring the custom of London "from time immorial" and urging that

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. pp. 50–51.

"we cannot nor ought to change the customs of the city." The king promptly issued his writ insisting on the city executing his command and summoned the mayor and sheriffs to Westminster.[1] Again the year book of Edward II. reports a citizen pleading the criminal law of the state against the city jurisdiction.

London law has never been codified. It comes to us through the recorded cases, and the cases are adjudicated according to the tenets of unwritten laws, resident only in the memories and teachings of the civic authorities. The Court of Aldermen, as it is called to this day, is a unique municipal institution. It was the administrative centre of London law, and everywhere in the records we find this dominant note. It is a remarkable note. The commonalty do not come in. There is no idea of the popular legal assembly of the Anglo-Saxons. There is only the restricted magistracy of the Court of Aldermen. Its English title might have displaced the more ancient Roman title, as Mr Coote has argued, but Dr Liebermann's way of putting the question of derivation is far more reasonable. "From a genetic point of view the names describing this rank seem the earliest of all, especially those which, founded on old age and its long experience, stand next to nature."[2] This has reference to the national council, but it is equally applicable to that of the city. In historic times the distinction of age gave way to that of superiority—the chief men. The institution in its working form is distinctly non-English. Its powers are very considerable, and entirely of its own choosing. It deals with the recalcitrant citizen, with the fraudulent tradesman, and with the intruding attempts of the crown and the king's courts of justice. All through the Norman and Plantagenet period its power is strongly felt. It crops up at all points where attempts are made to extend the powers of other branches of the city institutions, and it continues its power until the end.

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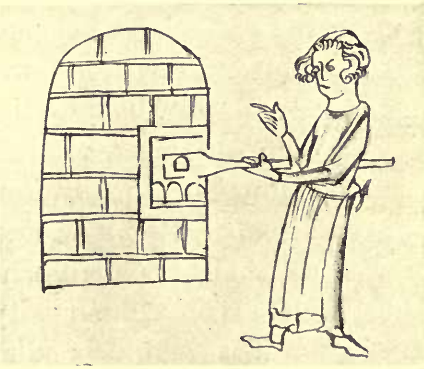
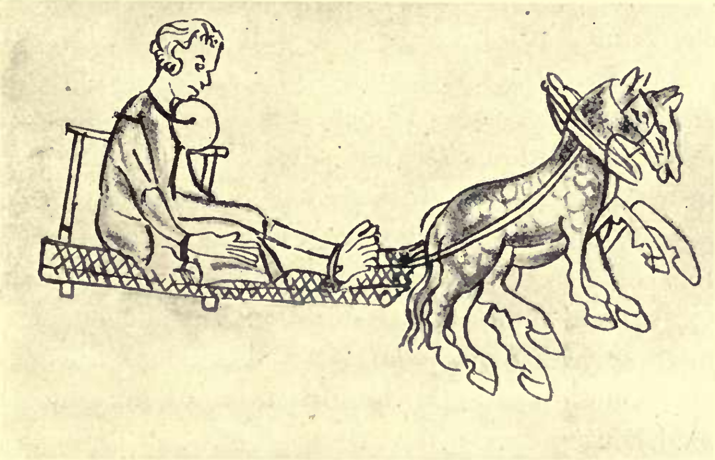
[1] *Letter Book, temp. Edward I. and II.*, pp. 127–9.

[2] Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, p. 9.


Baker at work, Guildhall MSS., *assisa panis.*

A second controlling force was through the agency of the gilds. The question of the origin of gilds has always been a disputed point among authorities, and I differ from them all. There is wanted in the first place a *vera causa* for their establishment. Why was the gild organisation required if the city organisation was still in existence, was still powerful? Apart from the fascinating proposition that gilds come direct from the Roman collegia, for which I see no sufficient evidence, there are two periods, the Anglo-

Saxon and the Norman, which are referred to by different authorities as pre-eminently the birth-time of the English gild. We may talk of the English gild, because it is generally recognised as a peculiarly English institution in origin, and English also in its growth and continuation. But we may not give to it anything more than a subordinate place in London governance. It is English, therefore, in the same manner as we have seen other English innovations within the city system of London.



Baker drawn to pillory, Guildhall MSS., *assisa panis*.

I have indicated already that in my opinion the great city law of King Athelstan's time may be taken as the origin of the gild system.[1] Two things were happening in London at the time when London took the momentous step of getting royal approval to this

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[1] See also Toulmin Smith's *English Gilds*, Brentano's introduction, p. xcix.

London law. One of these things was that the organisation of the country on the Anglo-Saxon tribal system, based upon kinship law and rights, and not upon individual law and rights, had passed from the administration of purely tribal matters to matters affecting citizenship, which were not tribal. The second of these things was that the burghal organisation of the English towns was based upon this same kinship system, and having made them into agricultural communities of the English type, as at York, Colchester, Winchester, Lincoln, and other places founded on Roman sites, it was being used for the protection of their developing trade. The burghal organisation did not quite satisfy the conditions of this dual condition of life as between city and village community. Burghers in trade could not meet agriculturists, who were also tribal kinsmen, upon equal terms, and the institution of the gild was an absolute necessity.

In London the difficulty was of a different kind. London was not Englished as York and other cities were Englished. She was still organised upon city lines. She still, as we have seen, retained much of her actual Roman machinery of government. But into her city life had penetrated the incoming Saxon. The leading Saxons conformed readily enough to London city law, became Londoners by faith as well as by desire. The lesser folk came into London carrying with them, as we have also seen, their English customs and ideas, their folkmoot, and their restless criticism of affairs into which their lives did not enter. These lesser folk were the danger to the city organisation, and I have pointed out that the city law in meeting this danger met it by a piece of magnificently bold statesmanship in the institution of an organisation of artificial kinship, suitable for the city requirements, but which did not belong to city institutions as they had come down from the ages.

It changed its note, but not its purpose, as the centuries rolled on. The city had new difficulties to meet. The Norman sokes were eating into the organisation of the city. The royal sanction to foreign traders was not in accord with the interests of the city, as the city understood its interests. And so the foeship of the earliest gild passed into the protective commercial clauses of the later gilds. Gilds in both cases were up against something to which the city was opposed. Foeship was still the note, not friendship, and in order to gain the key not only to the origin of gilds, but to their operations and their development, this must be kept in mind.

The development of the gilds could never have been quite an easy matter in London. The mayor and aldermen had always regulated trading and commercial matters, and now that trade and commerce were becoming more and more specialised under the genius of the Norman Londoners, the gild institution claimed to be utilised for a new purpose. Before the Norman house had passed its rule on to the Plantagenets we see the struggle commencing. For instance, it took place with the weavers. This gild had obtained from Henry I. the privilege that nobody, except by becoming a member of the gild, shall introduce himself within the city into their mystery, and nobody within Southwark, or other places belonging to London, except he be a member of their gild, and these privileges were confirmed by Henry II. The city rebelled against these privileges. King John tried to suppress the gild by the city paying twenty marks in money for a gift in place of the eighteen marks paid by the gild. That this proceeding did not succeed is shown by what happened as early as 1221–22, when the weavers, as Maddox relates, "fearing lest the mayor and citizens of London should extort from them their charter and liberties granted to them by King Henry II., delivered that charter into the Exchequer, to be kept in the Treasury there, and to be delivered to them again when they should want it, and afterwards to be laid up in the Treasury."

This interesting case shows the changes which were taking place. The crown and its advisers cared not for city institutions as London had inherited them. They cared for sokes and privileged groups, not for a great and powerful city. They did not win in the fight, however. Citizenship and gildship resided very much in the same personalities. We find the city exercising functions wherever the gilds did not, or could not, exercise them; the city came to the assistance of the gilds when they had to fight against a non-gildsman on questions of privilege; the city resisted the attempts of the crown to control trading matters, and boldly declared that where gilds or traders went wrong city law was sufficient to deal with the delinquents. And in this way we get the gradual working together of city and gilds, the encroachment of gildship upon the more ancient free citizenship; finally the welding of the gild organisation with the city organisation. The victory therefore is largely, not completely, with the gilds. But let us note that if it is victory, the victory of an English institution over a city institution which was not English, there is no evidence whatever in London, though there is in other English cities, of a development of municipal into gild organisation. It is struggle all through, and though the gilds won their position they did not destroy municipal power, municipal tradition, or municipal law.

This is demonstrable from the whole tenor of the records. The weavers might claim a royal charter, but, royal charter or not, they had to obey city law. The power and process of city law is to be seen in actual working. A writ comes from Henry V. (5th February 1416–17) to the mayor and aldermen, that they take measures for the strict observance of the ordinance or agreement presenting the particular kind of work to be executed severally by cordewaners and cobelers, and that they punish offenders in accordance with the terms of the said ordinance and the custom of the city.[1] The answer of the city is decisive. It was made by Richard Merlawe, the mayor, and the aldermen, and was to the effect that by immemorial custom of the city the mayor and aldermen were in the habit of causing any ordinance affecting artificers in the city which proved to be prejudicial to the common good to cease to be observed. This was followed by a still more drastic step. On 6th January 1417–18 the ordinance was annulled at a general court held at the Guildhall, "inasmuch as it was contrary to the commonweal."[2] City immemorial custom, not king's writ or king's law, is the controlling power; common good, not gild ordinances, is the governing factor; and in this single example the whole case of city government and gild organisation is contained.

Fourteenth-century seal of the Lord Mayor of London.

Common good included the strictest line of honesty in trade. Many entries in the city archives certify to this, and the pillory and the stocks are brought into requisition against those who do not conform to the city standard of conduct. In 1352 an ordinance had been in existence since the reign of Edward I. prescribing that "fishmongers of the city of London and their partners should see that their baskets," *inter alia*, were not "dubbed, that is to say, have good fish placed at the top and inferior kind placed beneath them"; and in 1354 an entry notifies the appointment, "by the good folk of the craft," of three "girdlers and citizens of London to rule and survey the said craft, that it be well and properly preserved in all points."[1] I must quote one other example because of the interest of the subject matter. In 1374 "Henry Clerke, John Dyke, William Tanner, and Thomas Lucy, tapicers and masters of the trade of tapicers in London, caused to be brought here a coster of tapestry wrought upon the loom after the manner of work of arras and made of false work by Katharine Duchewoman in her house at Fynkslane, being 4 yards in length and 7 quarters in breadth: seeing that she had made it of linen thread beneath but covered with wool above in deceit of the people and against the ordinance of the trade aforesaid, and they asked that the coster might be adjudged to be false, and for that reason burnt according to the form of the articles of their trade as here in the Chamber enrolled."[2] The mayor, recorder, and certain of the aldermen heard and decided the case against the false tapestry.

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[1] *Calendar of Letter Books,* vol. i. p. 187. *Cf.* Riley, *Memorials of London Life,* pp. 571–4, for the original ordinance.

[2] *Calendar, op. cit.,* p. 194.

Entries such as these are frequent,[3] and that the officers of mediæval London were expected to be as free from interested influences as are those of this age, the following regulation of 1419 will show, by comparison with the "Act for the better prevention of corruption" passed in the sixth year of King Edward VII. (cap. 34): "Forasmuch as it is not becoming or agreeable to propriety that those who are in the service of reverend men, and from them or through them have the advantage of befitting food and raiment, as also of reward or remuneration in a competent degree, should after a perverse custom be begging aught of people like paupers; and seeing that in times past every year at the Feast of Our Lord's Nativity, according to a certain custom which has grown to be an abuse, the vadlets of the Mayor, the Sheriffs, and the Chamber of the said city—persons who have food, raiment, and appropriate advantages resulting from their office—under colour of asking for an oblation, have begged many sums of money of brewers, bakers, cooks, and other victuallers, and in some instances have more than once threatened wrongfully to do them an injury if they should refuse to give them something; and have frequently made promises to others that, in return for a present, they would pass over their unlawful doings in much silence, to the great dishonour of their masters, and to the common loss of all the city"; and then follows the penalty, which is loss of office.[1]

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[1] *Letter Book*, 1350–1370, pp. 64, 69.

[2] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 375.

[3] Another good instance relating to the same gild in 1344 is given in *Letter Book*, 1337–1352, p. 99.

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[1] Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 670.

That the city looked after the personal requirements is shown by several amusing cases, of which I will quote one. Letters patent under the seal of the mayoralty were issued, 39 Edward III. (1365), "certifying that John de Radeclive, born in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate, had a portion of his left ear bitten off by a savage horse belonging to his master, and in order that his character might not suffer by incurring the suspicion of his having been punished for theft or other matter, the said John had prayed them to testify to the truth, which they hereby do."[1]

Plantagenet London was a city enclosed by its walls, kept in order by the citizens. It is described in many passages in the Chronicles. The city records contain priceless evidence of the topography of inner London through documents presented at the Hustings Court, and those read in the Guildhall before the mayor, and perhaps the inquisition "as to who is or are bound by right to repair the bridge of Walebrok near Bokerelesbre" of 1291 is one of the best examples.[2] The public records would yield a great many facts for extra London topography if they could be collated and arranged for such a purpose. Thus, among the charters of the Duchy of Lancaster (1174–1189) is a grant in fee to Henry de Cornhell of a "mill next to the Tower of London in Stebbehive."[1] In a petition to Parliament at Carlisle in 35 Edward I. the Earl of Lincoln stated that in old times ten or twelve ships used often to come up to Fleet Bridge with merchandise, and some even to Holborn Bridge.[2] Manorial records form a third source of information on this subject, and that they relate wholly to extra London and not to the city is an important fact. They give evidence of the usual kind, and where they have been examined in detail, as in the case of the manor of Tooting Bec, they yield not only topographical but historical and economic information of great value.[3]

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[1] *Letter Book,* 1350–1370, p. 125.

[2] *Letter Book, temp. Ed. I.,* pp. 177–179.

One further illustration of this period must be noted. London has begun to take rank among historians with other English cities, and no longer stands alone. In the chronicle of Richard of Devizes there is a remarkable picture of English cities of the time of King John, that is, toward the end of the twelfth century, which is sufficiently useful to quote. A vile French Jew recommends an unfortunate young cobbler to pass through London quickly, since every nation has introduced into that city its vices and bad manners. He is to avoid Canterbury, because the shrine of the lately canonised archbishop attracted crowds of vagrants: "Everywhere they die in open day by the streets for want of bread and employment.

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[1] *Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, xxxv. p. 16.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, i. p. 200, No. 59, quoted in Stanley's *Mem. of Westminster*, p. 6.

[3] *The Manor Rolls of Tooting Bec*, published by the London County Council

Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and they possess nothing for which they should be called cities but the sees of their bishops. Oxford scarcely sustains its clerks. Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain. Bath is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of the valleys in a very dense atmosphere and sulphury vapour, as it were at the gates of Hell. Nor yet will you select your habitation in the northern cities—Worcester, Chester, Hereford—on account of the desperate Welshmen. York abounds in Scots, vile and faithless men, or rather rascals. The town of Ely is always putrefied by the surrounding marshes." He then goes on to advise the poor apprentice cobbler not to visit Durham, Norwich, Lincoln, Bristol, nor the rural districts—especially Cornwall—and finally directs him to Winchester, which is "the city of cities, the mother of all, the best of all."[1] It is only by scraps of history like this that we can ascertain how London was regarded at this time.[2]

We are at a half stage here. We cannot quite understand it in its relationship to what has preceded it and what will follow it. A charter-granting sovereign, a sovereign who sends writs to the city on questions of city governance; a city which is working through a gild system as distinct from a municipal system, a city which has its immemorial custom converted into charter grants—is evidently different from what it was in Anglo-Saxon times. The extent of such difference and its effect upon the life of London must be the subject of an additional chapter.

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[1] Richard of Devizes, *De Rebus Gestis Ricardi primi,* Rolls edit., vol. iii. pp. 437–8.

[2] There is an interesting description of Plantagenet London in the Introduction to the *Chroniques de London 44 Henry III. to 17 Edw. III.* (Camden Soc.), pp. xi–xviii.

CHAPTER VII

CITY AND STATE

AFTER the institution of the city within the state there were still things to be worked out. It is important to bear in mind that this working-out of the problem is by the city, and not through the commanding statecraft of the sovereign power—neither king nor parliament. It is a pure working-out between the city and the state. Our commencing point is the relationship between the city and the representative of the state, the sovereign king. Plantagenet kings took their share in the government of the kingdom, meeting difficulties of all kinds in the whirlpool of continental events. They were not men to stand much trifling, to bow to powers

Seal of Henry II.

within the realm which claimed, or acted as if they claimed, a sort of equality with them. And yet this is what we see going on. The strong hand of Henry II. and Edward I., the unscrupulous hand of Henry III., took the city sadly to task, and we seem to see it bending to the sovereign will. But its time came again. Corporations never die, and kings do. The last of the Plantagenets, bold, brave, able as he was, bent the knee to London, and in his person, as he is outlined by Shakespeare, is shown the continuity of city polity right down to the end of the feudal period.

Seal of Henry III.

It is quite true to say that the chief evidence for this is derived from the weak places in English sovereignty, but it is not true to assume from this that London was simply taking advantage of these favourable opportunities to advance unconstitutional claims. As we are reminded by Mr Lucas, Sir Matthew Hale declared that he was unable to understand the form of government anterior to Henry III., and Holborne, the junior counsel in Hampden's great case, said with considerable justification that the

Seal of Henry III.

government in those early times was more by force than by law.[1] Under the Norman and Plantagenet sovereignty we find the claim of London to take a prominent part in the election of the king to be silently exercised and silently acquiesced in. If the kings with strong personalities and with unquestioned right of succession by inheritance minimised the city's claim or ignored it, the city answered by accepting this situation and awaiting new opportunities. And when the position of the king was weak, and London's help was needed, the help was given on the ancient and accepted lines. In the case of Stephen, London may have overstepped the ancient lines, but even here we shall not find a misuse of the power, and we shall not find later examples improving upon or even following this precedent. In every direction the working of the city institution was normal, and it corresponded with the working of the sovereign institution.

The new and imposing policy to be introduced by William, the great conqueror, has been noted. It was ushered in by a strict conforming to ancient custom, and the English cry of "Aye, aye" at the coronation ceremony was the formal acceptance by London of the new sovereign. Once more the king accepted by the nation became the king accepted by London. There is nothing of importance to mark the acceptance of the next two monarchs, but the election of Stephen to be king was a remarkable event. Freeman will have it that London, on this and similar occasions, represented the nation—the nation assembled at London; but there is little or no direct evidence of this, and the contrary evidence of London exercising ancient surviving city rights is overwhelming. No doubt in this case London went too far. It entered on the task of election instead of keeping to that of acceptance of the duly elected king; but in William of Malmesbury's account of Matilda's temporarily successful attempt to assume the position of empress, we are brought back again to the position of the sovereign obtaining the acquiescence of London. The story may be stated briefly. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 1135, is the first authority. "Stephen de Blois came to London; and the London folk received him, and sent after the archbishop William Curboil and consecrated him king on midwinter day." The extension of this record occurs in the *Gesta Stephani*, and it is deliberately stated that "the aldermen and wise folk gathered together the folkmoot, and there, providing at their own will for the good of the realm, unanimously resolved to choose a king," which solemn deliberation ended in the choice of Stephen. There can be no question that this ceremony was an election. Stephen's charter of 1136 opens with the words, "Ego Stephanus Dei gratia assensu cleri et populi in regem Anglorum electus," and he alludes to this election in his passionate outburst against those who revolted against him in 1137.

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[1] W. W. Lucas, *The Corporate Nature of English Sovereignty*, p. 3.

It will be noted that London acted through the folkmoot. It is not possible to say what the precise meaning of this is, having regard to what has been already said about the folkmoot and its subordinate position in city institutions, but it is at least likely that it was used on this occasion to further the particular end desired. This is confirmed by the remarkable proceedings in 1141 recorded by William of Malmesbury, when Matilda had achieved her temporary success in the field and sought to be proclaimed empress. The Londoners were sent for because from the importance of their city in England they were almost nobles (*quasi optimates*), and when the Londoners came they explained that they were sent from the community of London to ask for the liberation of King Stephen.

It is not necessary to pursue the details further. They show at every point that London claimed to have the sovereign that had been elected by them, and not the sovereign who claimed by the right of victory and by the support given to her by the pope. They show London to be successful in the end. They show the optimates of London and not the folkmoot to be the governing power, and they give an altogether remarkable picture of a definite and constitutional relationship between London the city and the national sovereign.

Through all the subsequent dynastic troubles London is ever in the fore, though never again in quite so strong a position. It took part in the formal deposition of Richard II.; it helped Henry IV. to the throne; it acted in such a way at the choosing of Richard III. as to provide Shakespeare with an ever-memorable scene. This was the last act in a very long series. It was purely artificial, obviously got up to serve a purpose. The very fact that it could have been appealed to on such an occasion, and in such a fashion, is evidence that the resort to the old formula, when it could have been nothing but a formula, shows how strong and how important the formula had been.

Seal of Richard III.

Against these examples of success in exercising ancient rights has to be set the witness of London indubitably struggling against what it believed to be an insidious innovation upon its older independence. The struggle was long and continuous, but never factious and petty. This is illustrated in several ways, and in the relationship of the city to the Tower of London we see the process at work in a singularly curious manner. The city will not attend at the Tower except under very definite protective rights, and with very definite ceremonial

Seal of Richard III.

conditions. The Tower is not only the king's as a defensive protection to London from the Thames side, but it is a symbol, and an effective and operative symbol, of the king's power against the city. The Plantagenet king sought by increasing the strength of the Tower to bring the city under his control. The citizens determined otherwise. They could not decline to recognise the Tower. It was a constitutional institution as well as a military fortress. But their precautions were full and significant. They would not step from citizen ground to king's ground without protection, and in the end we have the remarkable fact that the citizens imposed their rules upon the Tower authorities when they were required to enter the Tower, and they imposed rules when the sovereign wanted to enter the city, rules which Queen Victoria and King Edward obeyed as interesting survivals of London's ancient position. London indeed was never the seat of sovereignty under English rule, and we get a touch of realism on this point in a letter from Edward II. to Aylmer de Valence desiring his attendance at Westminster

Seal of Edward II.

Seal of Edward II.

to advise on certain matters, and directing him to come by Lambeth, where boats shall be prepared to carry him to the palace.[1] The city understood well enough the policy of the state. A great monarch like Edward I., powerful because he was never tyrannical, would take command of the city into his own hands, teach it the lesson of obedience to the state, and then restore it to its proper measure of civic status. A tyrant monarch, as John and Henry III. were, would act quite differently, and would act from the Tower. Few things are more remarkable in civic history than the events which stand out from these typical episodes. Even the boundaries of the Tower and its precincts had to be precisely set out for constitutional purposes. They are described in a document of 4 Richard II. as follows: "The Franchise of the Tower stretcheth from the water side unto the end of Pety Wales to the end of Tower Streete, and so streight North unto a mud wall; and from thence straight East unto the wall of the Cittie; and from thence to the Posterne

Seal of Richard II.

Seal of Richard II.

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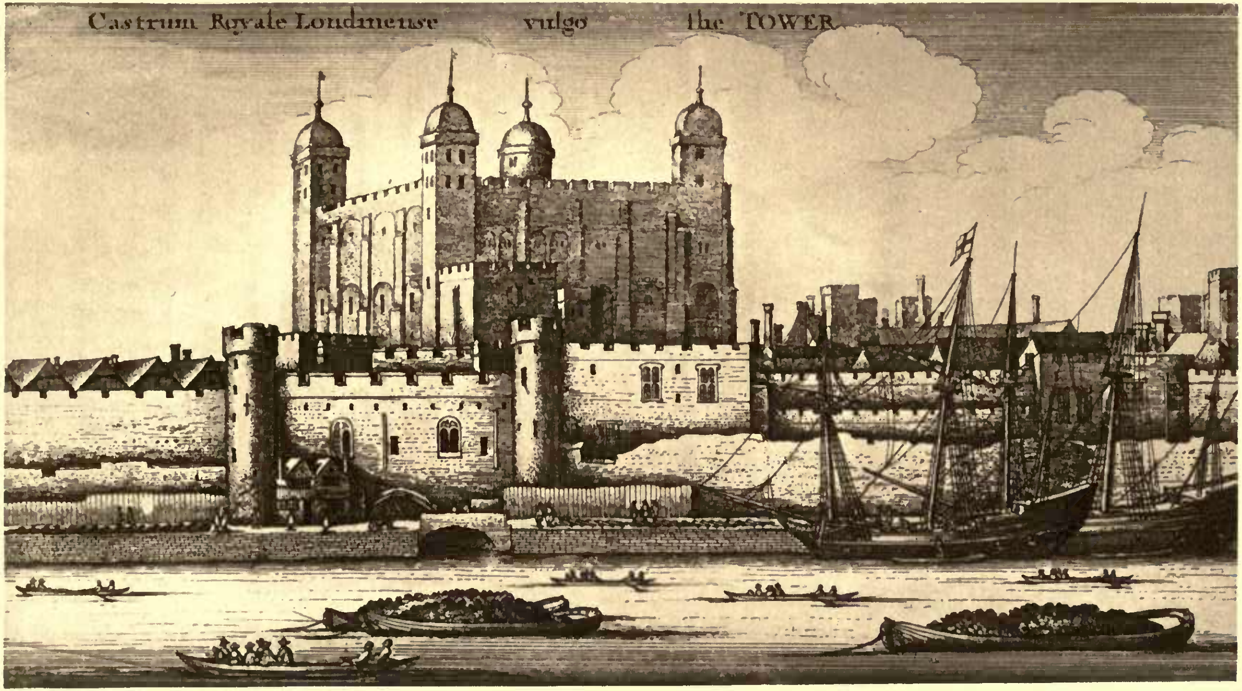
[1] *Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records,* viii. p. 184.


Castrum Royale Londinense vulgo the TOWER

THE TOWER OF LONDON IN 1647
From an engraving by Hollar.

South; and from thence straight to a great Elme, before the abbot of Tower hills rent; and from thence to an other Elme standing upon the Tower ditch; and from that Elme alonge by a mud wall streight forth into Thamys."[1] And this question of boundary was important in many ways, settling amongst other things the jurisdiction of the city and the king in legal cases. It arose on several occasions, and there are curious accounts of boundary disputes in 1582 and 1626 which illustrate the necessity for the formal determination of its limits.[2]

One other feature in illustration of the relationship of city and state must be referred to. The method of trading by intermunicipal agreement instead of by national law has been noted in connection with its obvious parallel to the methods of the Roman cities of the Empire under Roman law. It was in force during the Anglo-Saxon period, and did not originate in Anglo-Saxon polity. It was in force during Norman and Plantagenet times simply by way of continuation of a well-understood practice, and because the state had imposed no other method. The later practice can be illustrated from city documents. From these it is clear that the definite and clear sanction for the recovery of citizens' goods or debts was reprisal —and municipal, not personal, reprisal. The English state had not entered into this question, perhaps was not conscious of its existence, or at all events of the necessity of bringing it within the law of the land. In this way London and the cities fell back upon the provisions of Roman law, and there cannot be a doubt that in London at least these provisions had obtained continuously from Roman times.

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[1] *Archæologia,* vol. xviii. p. 280.

[2] *Remembrancia,* pp. 434 and 445; and see *Letter Book,* vol. i. p. 3.

It is worth while showing the actual working of this institution from a few examples selected from the *Calendar of Letters*, 1350–1370, published by the corporation of the city of London. The mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London write to the city of Florence in 1350–1 that Gregorio Bonacursi, citizen of London, "had complained of having, to his no small loss and prejudice, had a large quantity of merchandise which he had sent into their country seized by certain men, as it were sons of iniquity, not having God before their eyes and wishing to stir up strife; and whereas he had demanded that satisfaction should be made to him of persons and goods within the city of London, both present and to come, they are earnestly desired to cause the aforesaid merchandise to be restored, otherwise they must not complain if their countrymen be made to indemnify the said Gregorio in similar case." This is the case of a foreign city, and precisely the same course is adopted with an English city. Thus the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of London write to the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of Sandwyz, that is Sandwich in Kent, that they "had already twice desired them by letter to inquire into a grievous offence lately committed against

John Tornegold the younger at Plymouth by Thomas Gyboun, Thomas de Chilham, maryner, Robert Gofaire, and other malefactors, contrary to the peace of the lord the king and to see justice done." They first of all "examined the said persons in full assembly," and then asked that John Tornegold should repair to Sandwich. He went there accordingly, "but had returned without remedy or recovery to his great loss and damage. They are therefore again especially desired to take this matter to heart, that friendship might continue between them, and that their citizens repairing to London might not be aggrieved through default of justice on their part. The Lord have them in His keeping." The case was taken up by a later mayor (1351–2), but we do not hear the final result. Adam Fraunceys, mayor in 1352–4, writes in April to the bailiffs and good folk of the town of Gippeswiz (Ipswich), "desiring them to restore the distress they had taken from Thomas Pyeke, draper and citizen of London"; and again on the 7th May, "expressing surprise that nothing had been done," again making their request, "that there might be no occasion to write again on the same subject, nor for annoying their folk repairing to London owing to their default."[1]

There is no necessity to repeat examples. The request is formal, addressed by the mayor and aldermen or by the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of London to the properly entitled corporations of the other towns. The difference which occurs in the title of the London authority is perhaps of some importance. The mayor and aldermen, in almost all cases, address English cities, the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty address the foreign cities, and the exceptions in either case are few and unimportant, and perhaps to be accounted for by faults in the record.[1] The action, however, is entirely a municipal act—an intermunicipal act, in point of fact. It did not become municipal by any exercise of sovereign power. It does not appear among municipal archives as an innovation in municipal practice. It is already in existence when it is first recorded among the archives. Everything tends to show that it was a heritage from a distant past used and extended by London and by cities influenced by London.

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[1] *Calendar of Letters*, 1350–1370, pp. 3, 23, 49.

The records of the Plantagenet period, clear as they are upon the points we have just examined, are baffling in other aspects of the relationship between London and the sovereignty. We have "the Acte for correcciō of the Errours and wrong Jugegementis in London," which sets forth that "by a statute made in the tyme of ye noble Kyng Edward, ayal to our Lord the King that now ys, the yere of his reigne the xxviii., it was ordeined and establyshed that for this, that the errours, defautis, and mystakyng yt be naturally taken and vsed in the cite of London for defaut of good gou'nauce of the Mair, Sherefs, and Aldirmen yt haue the gouernaunce of the said cyte,"[1] the king may enact a fine, and as a last resort may take the franchise of the city into his hands.

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[1] Taking the first hundred examples in the *Letter Book*, 1350–1370, Bristol, Yarmouth, Sandwich, Horsham, and Gloucester are addressed by the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty, and there are seven foreign cities so addressed; on the other hand, the mayor and aldermen alone address Sluys, Bruges, and Bayonne, and there are thirty-seven English cities so addressed.

Seal of Henry IV.

Also we have examples of a singular interference with purely domestic concerns of the city. A proclamation *tempore* Henry IV. enacts "that no one wander about the city after eight o'clock at night unless he be of good character and carry a light, that no one wear mask or vizor at Christmas, and that every house be lighted with a candle and lantern during the same festival, under penalty of a fine of fourpence." A little later on, in 1405, the order was "that a lighted lantern is hung outside each house that is on the highway."[2] It is surprising that a royal proclamation should be the source of this regulation of citizen conduct, while it took no note of and no part in affairs of much more importance.

Seal of Henry IV.

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[1] *Arnold's Chronicle,* p. 43.

[2] *Calendar of Letter Books,* i. (1400–1422), pp. 38, 44, 45, 83.

These facts and others of like nature go far to explain that city and state were in relationship all through the Norman and Plantagenet period only under the conditions of survival and struggle, not under the definite conditions of a settled polity. There were ebbings and flowings in the tides of that relationship, and any one of the great events of the period might have turned the stream permanently and resistlessly into directions different from those in which it ultimately found its way. The point is important, not only in the history of the city, but in the history of the state. The issues were not always municipal issues. They were national issues. And the very bigness of these issues creates a view of London history which requires special facts to explain its origin, special facts to explain its continuation, special facts to explain its power and its forcefulness. It is the combination of these sets of facts in relationship to each other which is capable of supplying the only view of London which answers to the historical situation. We have ascertained how strong was the power which twisted the line of continuity, and how strong was the defence which kept the line intact. That there was a twist and there was defence, however, are the essential facts of the case.

The institution of the city, then, was the work of generations, and it was a work of struggle, not of peaceful development. This is seen everywhere.

There is not a single phase of mediæval London where struggle is not the main feature. And this is wholly in favour of the continuity of an almost independent London through the Anglo-Saxon period. The forces of mediæval times were stronger than those of Anglo-Saxon times. The methods and the objects of the sovereign power were more dangerous. It was settled policy to bring London within the state, and London had to give in at several points. Not everywhere, however, and not always, was London compelled to surrender her power and her rights. The fact that she could make so good a fight, and come out at the end so powerful, and with so much within her that, inherited as governance and law, was continued as custom, is evidence sufficient that the heritage of London comes from a more powerfully organised state government than England at any time possessed, was the product of a governing system which was foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

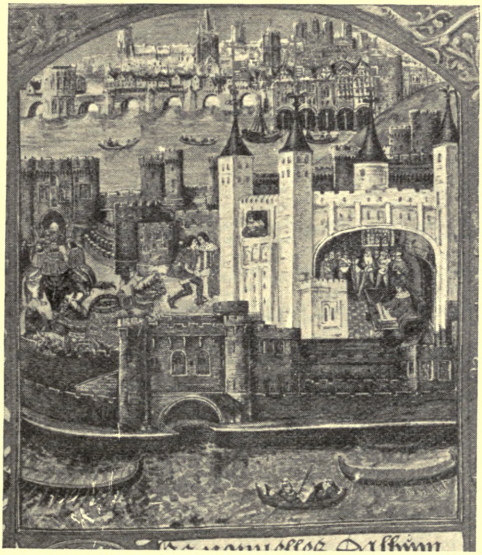
During all this long period London has been unbroken in its continuity. The line is not quite so straight, its twisted form betokens the struggle it has had, but the line is not broken. I have argued that the Normans did not break it by conquest any more than did the Danes, any more than did the Anglo-Saxons. Entry by consent does not include breakage in city life and thought. I am now in a position to confirm the argument by evidence produced from the Plantagenet history of London.

There is entire evidence of continuity in spite of king's charters and king's rule, in spite of encroachment by church and lords. London was too real to break under such forces, and we end at this stage with a strong note of continuity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DISRUPTION OF COMMERCIALISM

How magnificently the institution of London, welded as we have seen it welded out of ancient and later materials, with the dominant note of continuity, answered to the requirement of the nation is strikingly shown throughout its early history. That history has now to be considered in relationship to what followed, and this I think has never been understood.



The Tower of London, *temp.* Henry VII.
Royal MSS. 16, f. ii.

It shows a considerable deflection from the past, but it remains a continuation from the past. The break-away from the main principle of communal life was complete; the entry into the new commercial life was just as complete. The new commercial city kept alive its ancient communal insignia, used its communal functions on supreme occasions when they were required, but its older collective citizenship had to give way to the new individualism. It took orders from Tudor sovereign and Tudor ministers, looked to state courts and state law for settlement of problems once in the province of its own municipal law to settle[1]—performed all these inconsistencies without in form actually destroying the essential features of its ancient system.

In substance there was destruction. A ghastly sort of chasm seems to arise between Tudor London and Plantagenet London—a chasm which has never been bridged, and across which it is not quite easy to carry the threads of continuity. Continuity existed still. This must be insisted upon. But it was not the same continuity. It was a continuity by way of custom, not by way of policy. The city followed its old forms, but only as customs, frequently with no institutional meaning in them, and with considerably shortened powers. The change came from the sovereignty. The old relationship to the crown was between "the Mayor and Aldermen" and "his lordship the King." The new relationship was between "my lord Mayor" and "His Majesty," or the ministers of His Majesty. Lordship and majesty are great titles. They are great and silent powers working towards a dividing line, and which have the fatal characteristic of feeding upon their own growth. They indicate a settled change, not only in the relationship of city and state, but in the conception of the state itself. We have had to note one great change from a state system to that of lordship. We have now to note an even greater change from the communal system to the commercial system.

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[1] I quote a very good example in connection with the Tower of London in relation to the city in my *Making of London,* p. 198.

The change in the national sovereignty and the state was fundamental. Dr Hill describes it in an extremely useful way. He points out that "for centuries Christendom was conceived of as one great state in which the nature and relations of the feudal, and afterward the national, monarchies were obscured by their acknowledged dependence upon a common superior, the Holy Roman See; within the circle of Christendom, authority both civil and spiritual was conceived of as descending from a divine source through the rulers whom God had established. Of the territorial state possessing sovereignty in itself there could therefore be no conception." And then, after an examination of the new juristical doctrines of Bodin in France and Althuesius in Germany, he concludes: "It is the state, however, and not merely the royal personage who constitutes its head, that now and henceforth will claim attention. In the feudal age there was no conception of a state. Society was then composed of a hierarchy of persons bound together in relations of vassalage and suzerainty. In the development of the national monarchies the kings gradually concentrated in their own hands all public authority by absorbing in their own persons the prerogatives of the feudal lords."[1]

Hitherto the events of London have all belonged to London. However trivial and however great, they were London in origin, London in meaning, London in effect. They belonged to that great mass of historic event which proceeded in its magnificent and solid way from age to age, carrying on the continuous story, as I have indicated in former chapters. Now there is to tell a different state of things. Not every event in London is a London event. Not every event marches along with the stately pageant of London history. An outside power is there, a power as great as it is remarkable. It appears at the hands of the successive Tudor sovereigns, all of them remarkable men and women. It appears at the hands of ministers of the crown, all of them remarkable men. It appears at the hands of the men of Devon, the men of Dorset, men from the east and men from the west, men who come not to toil and work in London on London lines, not to work in connection with London at all, but to work for the new conception of industry and trade in which London would have only an incidental part. It had become a national

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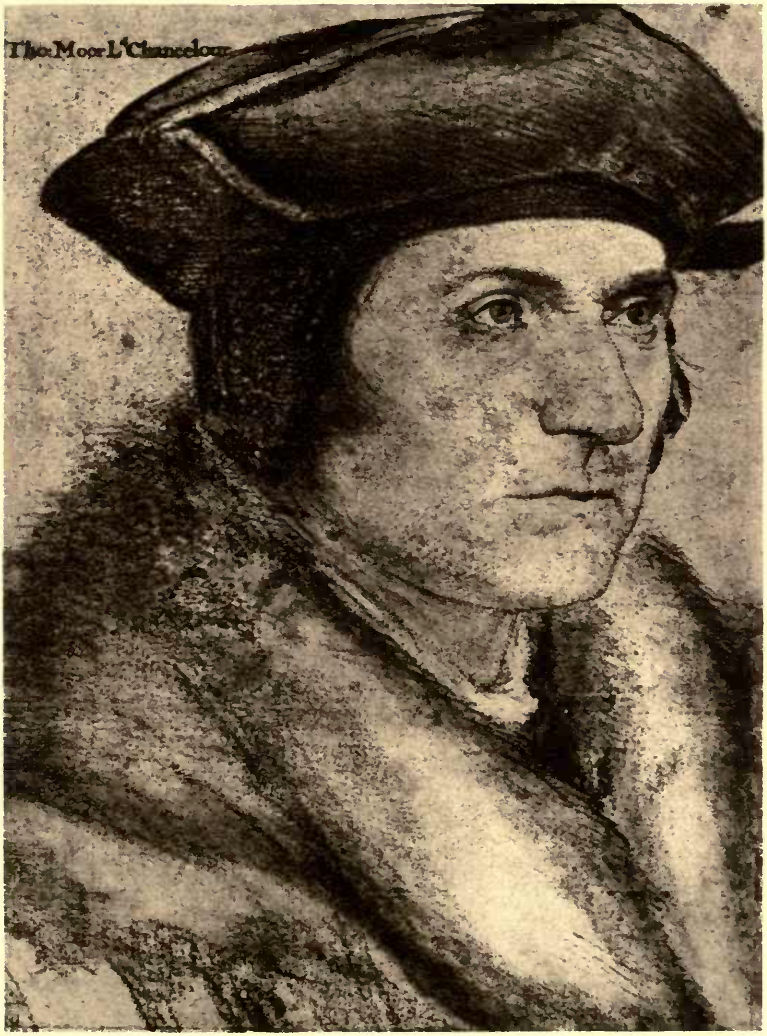
[1] D. J. Hill, *History of Diplomacy*, vol. ii. pp. 491, 517.


Tho: Moor Ld Chancelor

SIR THOMAS MORE.
From the drawing by Hans Holbein, at Windsor Castle.

trade, and London would only have so much of it as would flow to it along the track of the ocean ships. (See Appendix V.)

Up to this point we have been dealing with London events by the light of the ever-recurring formula, "according to ancient custom." From this point we are to have continuity of London events as an interesting or previously unnoted circumstance—an occasional continuity based upon the whims of the moment, not upon the polity of London. The change is fundamental. Perhaps it was being prepared for during the last chaotic days of Plantagenet kingship, but it seems to come suddenly and with strange silence. We come upon it with no surprise, no regret, no welcome. It is there and it is accepted.

Although this seems to be the reading of the times, we are sure there is something behind it all—something as voiced in the philosophic regrets of Sir Thomas More to changes which, in many ways, he understood; in the political dislikes of Cardinal Pole to changes which he did not understand at all; in the religious objections of Erasmus to changes of which he but dimly saw the outcome. Erasmus did not understand the execution of More, neither the principle for which More fought and died, nor the necessity of the king in determining the execution. The something behind all this is the disappearance once for all of the ancient English system of social and political organisation, and the incoming of a new system, English in that it was adopted by the English people, continental in that it came in with the sweeping force of European influence.

There is not much room for the exercise of civic powers in this new order of things. The city had taken its share in producing this new line of political development. It had now to give way to the state it had helped to create. The state is to be everywhere and to do everything. And its claim is subscribed to. That in England London does not quite bow the head, that against the claim of the state for universal governance there still remains the claim of London to work out its own destiny on its old lines, are merely the signs of a final stage. London was not successful. It could not be, for the new powers of the state were derived from the forces which disrupted Europe.

Our evidence in the future will fall under four principal heads, two of them belonging to the older history, the other two entirely new. These are: (1) the sovereignty in relation to the city; (2) changed views of the city; (3) commercialism of the city; (4) city expansion.

The new position of affairs in relation to the sovereignty may be introduced by a delightful story first told by Stow of Queen Mary, and then afterwards by Howel of King James the First. Stow's story is of an alderman of London who, "whenas on a time it was told him by a courtier that Queene Mary in her displeasure against London had appointed to remoue with the Parliament and Terme to Oxford, this playne man demanded whether she meant also to diuert the Riuer of Thames from London or no? and when the Gentleman had answered no, then quoth the Alderman, by God's grace wee shall do well enough at London whatsoeuer become of the Tearme and Parliament."[1] The Howel version is told in his *Londinopolis* (p. 19), published in 1657, and it appears to be another version of the same story: "The Thames may be said to be London's best friend, which puts me in minde of a passage of drollery that happened in the time of King James, who, being displeased with the City because she would not lend him such a sum of money, and the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen attending him one day, being somewhat transported, he said that he would remove his own Court, with all the records of the Tower and the Courts of Westminster Hall, to another place. . . . The Lord Mayor calmly heard all, and at last answered, Your Majesty hath power to do what you please, and your City of London will obey accordingly; but she humbly desires that when your Majesty shall remove your Courts, you would please to leave the Thames behind you."

There is something more serious than this in the sovereign's attitude towards the city and its institutions. Over and over again has the city to allege its ancient custom against the claims of the crown to interfere. In 1580 the Lords of the Council desired to know why the ancient and honourable Feast of the

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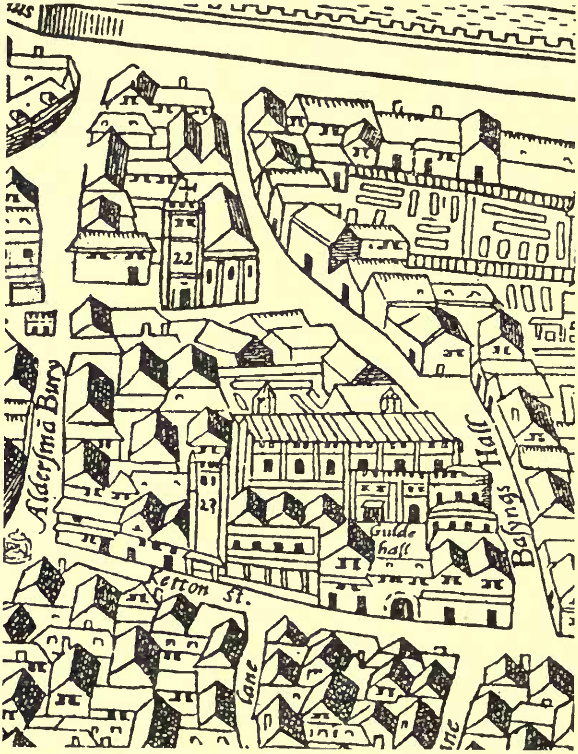
[1] *Stow*, by Kingsford, vol. ii. p. 200.

Lord Mayor had been omitted, "without permission or allowance of the Privy Council," and the answer of the lord mayor, explaining that the omission was due to the feeble state of his health, added, that "it had not been usual to obtain permission of Her Majesty or the Council to omit the feast."[1] If only the city had given some account of this ancient feast, and its significance among the ceremonials of the city,


22
Aldersmā Bury
27
Kerton St.
Gulde hall
Hall
Basyngs
Lane

The Guildhall about 1560, from Ralph Agas' plan.

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[1] *Remembrancia,* p. 206.

the petty interference of the sovereign in such matters would have become a secondary concern. There was interference almost everywhere. "Upon the day of the Lord Mayor taking his oath without the Tower gate an attempt had been made by the warders to take down the sword borne before the Lord Mayor";[1] aldermen elected "according to ancient custom" were sought to be excused from serving by request of His Majesty; the proceedings at the election of lord mayor were inquired into, and the Court of Aldermen had to defend the action they had taken; offices, some of them petty offices, were sought for on behalf of nominees of the crown; the Tower boundaries were disputed; even the city's administration of the affairs of orphans, "according to the laws and usages of the city," was encroached upon;[2] and the whole story is in direct contrast to the proceedings of the past.

We may see some of these operations in actual working. On the election of Alderman Billingsley to the office of mayor there is curious and interesting evidence. On the 1st September 1596 the aldermen write to Mr Alderman Skinner, then lord mayor, informing him of Her Majesty's desire that Mr Alderman Billingsley should not be elected to the office of lord mayor for the following year, and requesting him to repair to London not later than the 7th or 9th of September to confer with them touching his election to that office. Lord Mayor

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[1] *Remembrancia,* p. 434.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 307.

Skinner, however, died on 31st December 1596, during his year of office, and Alderman Billingsley was elected in his place. Sir John Croke was then recorder, and he has left a MS. note-book giving the substance of twenty-nine speeches delivered by him to Queen Elizabeth and King James. One of these, delivered in January 1597, was "sur le presenting de Alderman Billingsley a le Tower in vacationem inter Christmas and le terme," in which he says: "In place of the governor lately taken from us we have proceeded to the election of another, before this time elegible to the place, and only forborne for that he was sequestered to some other service of Her Majesty, and yet now, Her Majesty vouchsafing to spare him from herself to serve the city, and having chosen him according to the charters of Her Majesty and her most noble progenitors granted to us, . . . we present him here to be admitted." On 6th February 1596–7 there was another speech "sur presenting Alderman Billingsley a sa Majesty."[1] Alderman Billingsley did not have an easy time of it. It was the year of the disastrous surrender of Calais to Spain, and the city was called upon to supply a contingent of two hundred men to recruit the garrison of the cautionary town of Flushing, and towards the end of the year the city was again called upon to fit ten ships for the public service. This matter was referred to a committee, and the city practically refused to obey the commands, pointing out "the great discontentment and utter discourage-

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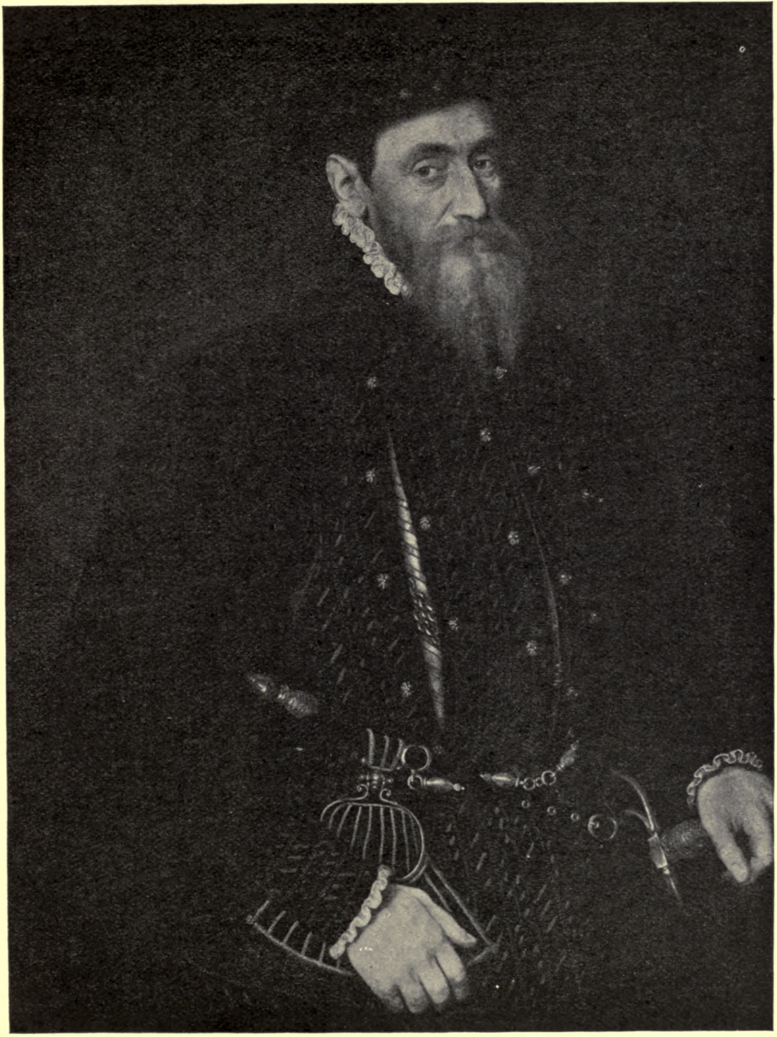
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com., Chequers Court, Bucks.*, pp. 5–6.



Sir Thomas Gresham, Lord Mayor of London; rom the portrait by Moro in the National Portrait Gallery.

ment of the common people within this citie touchinge their adventure in the late viage to the town at Cales (Cadiz)." To this the queen replied sharply. The city had pleaded scarcity of provisions and poverty as an excuse for not carrying out her recent orders. "Very good, let the livery companies, whose duty it was to find men and money when required, practise a little self-restraint in the coming summer (1597). Let them, she said, forbear giving feasts in their halls and elsewhere, and bestow half the money thus saved on the poor; and the order of the Court of Aldermen went forth accordingly."[1] This reproof of the Tudor queen seems almost modern, but the result of obedience is entirely Tudor.

The election of aldermen also supplies an extraordinary proceeding. The case of Paul Wythypol in 1527 brought Henry VIII. and the citizens into variance. The king desired Wythypol's discharge, at least for a time; but the Court of Aldermen hesitated to accede to the request, and at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey sought an interview with the king. "To Greenwich they accordingly went (24 Feb.) by water, where they arrived in time to give a formal reception to the cardinal, who landed soon afterwards in his barge. After a few words had passed between the cardinal and the municipal officers, the former entered the palace whilst the latter waited in the king's great chamber till dinner-time. When that hour arrived they were bidden to go down to the hall, where the mayor was entertained at the lord steward's mess and the aldermen received like attention from the comptroller and other officers of state. Dinner over, the company returned to the great chamber, where they were kept waiting till the evening. At length the mayor and aldermen were bidden to the king's presence in his secret chamber. What took place there the writer of the record declares himself unable to say." The practical outcome was that Wythypol was left unmolested for a whole twelvemonth.[1] Not even to Henry VIII., therefore, did the city bend absolutely, and we cannot but contrast this with the more painful but strikingly similar incident which took place when James II. was king.[2]

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[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom,* vol. i. pp. 556–559; compare *Tom of all Trades,* by Thomas Powell, 1631 (New Shakspere Soc.), p. 165.

These are, of course, merely reminiscent notes, though they illustrate pretty plainly the changed aspect of the relationship between the city and the sovereignty. Henry VII. came to the throne with a strangely doubtful title; Henry VIII., as Freeman points out, is "electe, chosen, and required by all the three estates of this lande to take uppon hym the seid coronne and royall dignitie," and is the last English monarch to hear the formula "Yea, yea, yea" which confirmed his election.[3] But London is quite out of it in both cases. The precedent of

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[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. i. pp. 377–378.

[2] See my *Making of London*, p. 208.

[3] Freeman, *The Norman Conquest* (second edition), vol. iii. p. 627.

Richard III. did not move Henry VII. to follow it. The new precedent set by Henry VIII. deliberately ignored London, and was not followed in any respect. So complete is the change that there is not even an echo of it, and if it were not for the fact that at a later period there occur events which bring back the old conditions, there might well be considerations applicable to these old conditions which might endanger the completeness of the view which I am taking of them.

Continuity from the ancient to the new London is not, however, entirely broken. Wherever the city dealt with matters which Tudor necessities did not touch, there the old tradition was openly dominant. The assembly of the citizens in arms at Mile End occupies a conspicuous place in London history. It is the commencing point from which to understand the position of London as a city in arms, and it still survives in Tudor times. Tudor plays refer to it, as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, where the following passage occurs:

> "After this action I preferred was,
> And chosen city captain at Mile End,
> With hat and feather and with leading staff,
> And trained my men and brought them all off clear."

In the correspondence of the period we constantly meet with such notes as, "The city train bands went out to guard," and "His Majesty went to Mile End to see" such and such a regiment,[1] but to know the full story of the Mile End assemblage of arms we must go to a definite description of such an event.

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[1] Such notes occur in a Newsletter of 11th October 1688. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (vii.) p. 214.

This we may do by referring to a document of Henry VIII.'s reign. The details of this assembly are most interesting, and I will quote from the original record such of them as will illustrate the principle. The muster took place on the 8th of May in the thirty-first year of King Henry VIII., and the occasion was the threatened invasion of the country by the Roman Catholics under Reginald Pole. Henry was extraordinarily active, and London received his commands. The city obeyed in right royal style, and there was much planning and arranging. The "lorde mayor and hys brethern th' aldermen sev'rally repayred to theyre wards, and there, by the othe of the com'on counsayll and the constables of the same warde, tooke the hoole nombre of all the men, wepons, and harnesses accordyngly." They did not "admytt the hole nombre as p'sones hable to mustre," but, after settling various details of accoutrement and costume, "on the viijth day of May, ev'y alderman, w^{t} hys warde yn good order of batayll, before vi of the clokke yn the mornyng came ynto the comon felde, between Myle End and Whyte Chapell, and than all the gonns sortyd theymselff ynto one place, lykwyse dyd the pykes, and the archars and the byll men. Than ev'y company by hymselff rynged and swayled yn the feld, whiche was a goodly thynge to be holde, ffor all the fieldes from Whyte Chapell to Myle Ende, and from Bednall Grene to

Ratclyff and Stepney, were all cov'yd w^t men yn bryght harnes w^t glystering wepons. The batyll of pykes whan they stode styll semyd a great wood. Than ev'y company was devyded ynto iij p'tes, the pykes ynto iii p'tes, and so the archers and the byll men." Yes, it was a great sight, but let us note carefully that every alderman, with his ward in good order of battle, marched to this great muster. The city swordbearer, "in a convenyent dystance behynde the banners," was followed by "S^r Wyllyam Forman, Knyght and Lorde Mayer of the cytye," with "iiij fote men" followed by "ij Pages," and "on ev'y syde of the lorde mayor a good dystaunce went viij talle men." A good distance after the lord mayor rode the recorder of the city, then "the atto'neys, clerks, and offycers of the lawe app'teynyieng to the Guyldhall," the surgeons of the city, and the sheriffs. Here certainly is the city in arms. Custom pervades all the details, as we find it duly recorded in the city records of the ordinary muster of the watch, "as in tyme past hath bene accustomed." It is not a city merely sending its quota to the national army. It is the city assembled in its battle formation, assembled as in peace by its wards under its aldermen, with its chief magistrate, the lord mayor, at its head. The description leaves nothing to argument or surmise. It is set out in full, and makes continuity along this line absolutely certain.[1] Indeed it does more than this. Such a minute description is not forthcoming for the earlier period, and we are entitled to read into the earlier records the main principles of this Tudor ceremonial founded on ancient custom. Leaving out the strictly Tudor details we can learn from it that the city in arms in the Barons War of the thirteenth century, at the Hastings fight, in defence against the Danes, at the Crayford fight, was, apart from details belonging to each period, organised as it was under King Henry VIII., as we shall find it organised on a much greater occasion later on, when it marched once again to defend the liberties of the nation.

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[1] The description is printed in full in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. pp. 30–37.

It is of supreme importance that we possess such evidences of continuity, for there is little else to note under the Tudors. Elsewhere we find change, the greatest change of all being in the realms of commerce. The alderman's allusion to the Thames was no fanciful thing. It is the key to the new conception. London had hitherto conducted its foreign trade by the system of intermunicipal agreements, and by welcoming and housing foreign industrial and commercial experts within her walls, often at the bidding of the king, sometimes against her own wishes. Now she was to carry on foreign trade in quite a different way and spirit. She was to obtain it in her own ships at the far end of the world, a new world to London and Europe. She was to worship at the shrine of a new hero, Drake, the great captain who stands out for all time among the greatest of Englishmen. Drake's world-ship was moored in the Thames, and the hearts of Londoners were stirred by it to their depths. It meant to them a new ideal for commerce and for English rule. And it meant something even greater, a new ideal of national life. Shakespeare was inspired to give forth this new ideal, and though his feet probably never trod on foreign soil, his mind went out to what his great countrymen were doing, and he trod upon foreign soil as it was represented by Drake's ship. Mr Fairman Ordish in his masterly account of Shakespeare's London has explained its inward significance: "Strong and new life upon a background of heaped remains of a recent past: this was what greeted Shakespeare on every hand." It greeted him on the Thames. The great antiquary, William Camden, becomes eloquent when he speaks of the Thames as "a sure and most beautiful Roade for shipping," and then goes on to say that "a man would say that seeth the shipping there, that it is, as it were, a very wood of trees disbranched to make glades and let in light, so shaded it is with masts and sailes."[1] This may be hyperbole, as Mr Ordish suggests, but it is from a strain that stretches back into the remote past of London. Fitzstephen in the twelfth century wrote that "to this city from every nation under heaven merchants bring their commodities," and then quotes verses to describe the kind of wares which came up the Thames at this date. The Thames of Tudor London not only repeated the spectacle of the

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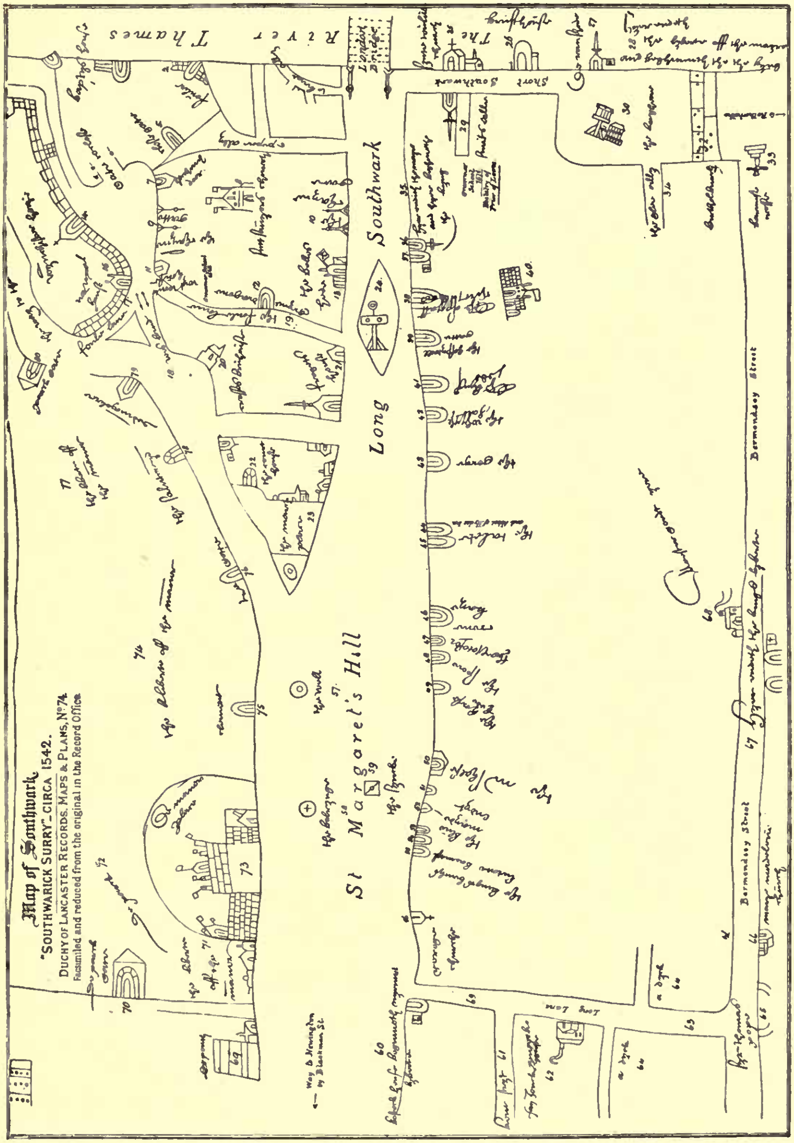
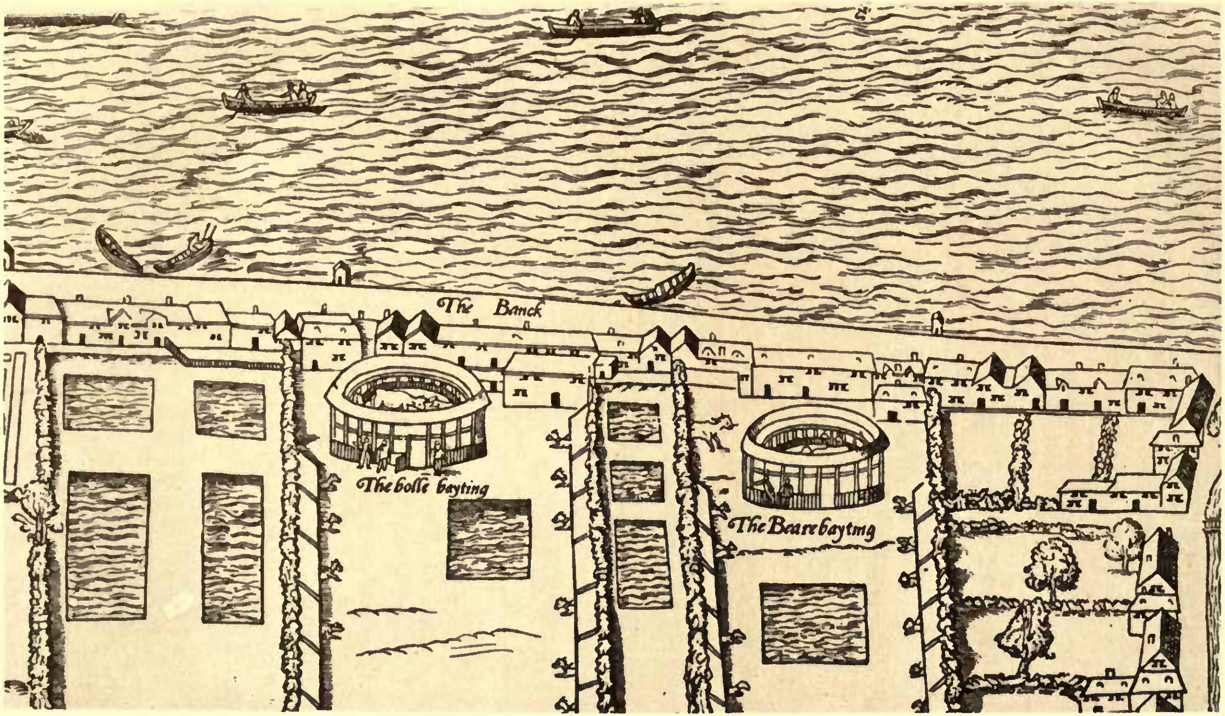
[1] Ordish, *Shakespeare's London*, p. 12.


Map of Southwark
"SOUTHWARICK SURRY"_CIRCA 1542.
DUCHY OF LANCASTER RECORDS, MAPS & PLANS, No 74.
Facsimiled and reduced from the original in the Record Office.
River Thames
London Bridge
The
Short Southwark
Long Southwark
St Margaret's Hill
Bermondsey Street
Bermondsey Street
Way to Newington by Blackman St.

Map of Southwark about 1542.

eleventh century, but added to it new characteristics of its own.

A few direct insights into London life may most profitably be noted from contemporary documents which contain not formal descriptions, but incidental notings of places and their occupants. The Tudor period is extraordinarily rich in such material, and contrasts strangely, in this respect as in others, with the period which preceded it. Thus in the examination of Gabriel Tomlinson, aged twenty-one or thereabouts, servant to Richard Edwards, draper, in connection with the Essex Rebellion, it is stated that "upon Sunday the eighth of February, being then in a window in his master's house in Gracious Street, about 12 o'clock of the day, did there see the Earl of Essex with a great company of men about him, and did hear the Earl with a very loud voice say that the crown of England was sold to Spain," and his master, Richard Edwards, draper, also deposed that he "could not certainly hear every word that the Earl of Essex did speak, but he saw him and heard him speak with a 'gast' countenance and like a man forlorn, and said, with a loud voice, 'You should not be cosined so or conicatched so'; and then spake of Sir Walter Raleigh, he could not certainly understand what, the confusion of the noise was so great; but heard him say that the crown of England was sold to the Infanta or King of Spain, or words to that effect, and that they should believe honest and religious men and not be 'conicatched,' and used much speech


The Banck
The bolle bayting
The Bearebaytyng

THE BANK, about 1560.
From Ralph Agas' Map of London.

to that effect."[1] The drapers' shops in Gracechurch Street appear more real to us when they are revealed in this fashion, and Bishop Latimer's words seem to come home more deeply: "Now what shall we say of these rich citizens of London? what shall I say of them? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London? . . . London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity. In times past when any rich man died in London they were wont to help the poor scholars of the universities with exhibition; when any man died they would bequeath great sums of money towards the relief of the poor."[2]

Bishop Latimer's complaint was not, perhaps, quite true to the times—but they were true to him, smarting under the changes which had come about, and being ignorant of the methods which were to be introduced to deal with the changes. They were true also in another sense. The older forms of pity and compassion were essential parts of citizen life. Citizens looked internally, considered what London would say to their acts or to their neglects. Now citizens looked externally, and considered only what was due from them as economic units of the nation. Pity and compassion do not flow quite so easily or so freshly by the new stream, and Latimer had found this out. In blaming the citizens of London he blamed wrongly, for he was looking back upon the old citizenship instead of forward to the new.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com., Salisbury Collection*, xi. p. 67.

[2] Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough*, 1548.

These changed views are well illustrated by the events which accompanied the mooring of Drake's ship, *The Golden Hind*, near the Mast Dock at Deptford. From a passage in one of Ben Jonson's plays it is clear that it became a resort for citizen visitors, the cabin being converted into a banqueting-house. Paul Hentzner visited it in 1598, and describes the event as follows: "Upon taking the air down the river the first thing that struck us was the ship of that noble Pirate, Sir Francis Drake, in which he is said to have circumnavigated this globe of earth."[1] In later Stuart days it was allowed to wear away, a chair made from its wood and resting in the gallery of the Bodleian Library, being the last relic of it.[2] These are the bare records. But the fact is greater than the records. That "noble pirate," Drake, was England's hero. His journeys were the expressions of England's hopes. His hatred of the Spaniard was the political note of the period. His glorious fighting against the Armada, expressed in that wonderful despatch to Walsyngham, summed up the heroic in the highest form of national epic: "With the grace of God if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at Saint Marie among his orange trees." Cecil recognised here "the first signe of victory," as he wrote on 25th July 1588, and Cecil interpreted aright.[1]

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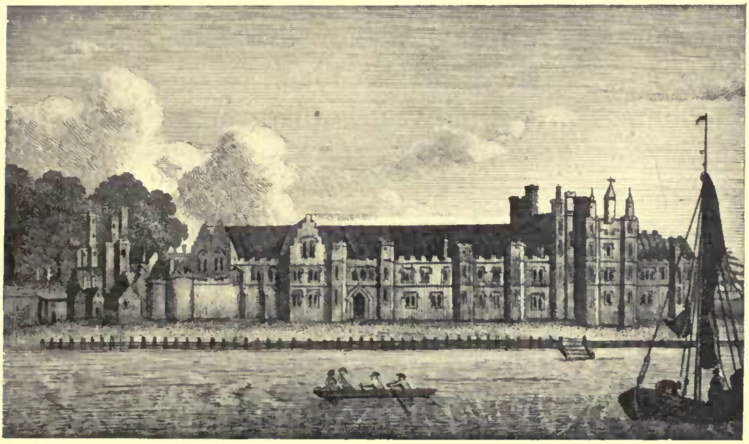
[1] *A Journey into England by Paul Hentzner in the Year* MDXCVIII. (Strawbery Hill edition), p. 46.

[2] Abraham Cowley's ode "sitting and drinking in the chair made out of the relics of Sir Francis Drake's ship" was printed in 1663. (*See* Appendix VI.)

Deptford is not the only London site dedicated to such events as these. There are Wapping, Greenwich, Ratcliff, and Woolwich. The great captain, Martin Frobisher, an arctic explorer and a commander against the Spanish Armada, sailed from Ratcliff. The first English expedition to the far north seas was led by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, starting from Ratcliff in 1553. This was followed by others. John Davis, whose name is commemorated in Davis Strait off Greenland, came "into the river of Thames as high as Ratcliff in safetie, God be thanked," on 6th



Greenwich Palace in the sixteenth century.

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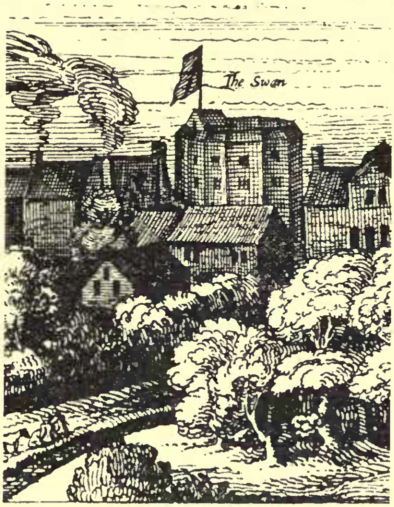
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (iv.), p. 253.

October 1586. William Adams, who lived in Ratcliff, took the first ship, a Dutch one, to Japan, and John Saris, born in Aldgate in 1579, was the first to sail an English ship to Japan. Raleigh organised his expedition to Cadiz from there in 1596. Tudor London indeed is endowed richly in this respect, and there is scarcely a river landing-place which has not its beginnings in this great period. Woolwich was developed as a dockyard both by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Henry purchased land for new docks for building and repairing vessels there, and he launched therefrom his ship *The Great Harry* in 1512. Elizabeth built her ship *The Elizabeth* there, and launched it in 1559.

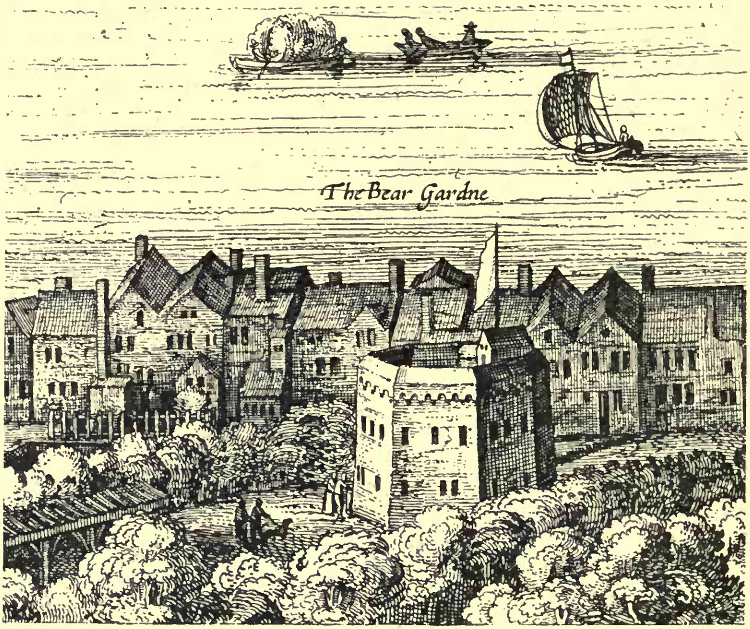
We of this age cannot quite understand the greatness of the change concealed beneath such facts as these. They can only be understood by reference to their outcome. It is not only that from them arose that historic meeting at Old Founders Hall, Lothbury, in 1598, when Sir John Lancaster's explorations led a few merchant adventurers, with the lord mayor at their head, to found the East India Company, but that London was being transformed by their influence.

The greatest and most enduring sign, not only of the changes, but of the brain-wrought intention to bring about such changes, was the development of the English drama. That remarkable feature of Tudor London was due to the new position London was assuming in a new world. Nothing less could have expressed itself so forcibly upon the art sense, and that it took the direction of drama was due to the feeling of movement in things, a movement as strong and as sudden as any of the stirring events which produced the Greek drama. The English drama, like the Greek, was the product of city civilisation. London was the city which thus distinguishes itself, and to Tudor London the distinction is due.



The Swan Theatre, 1616, from N. J. Visscher's View.

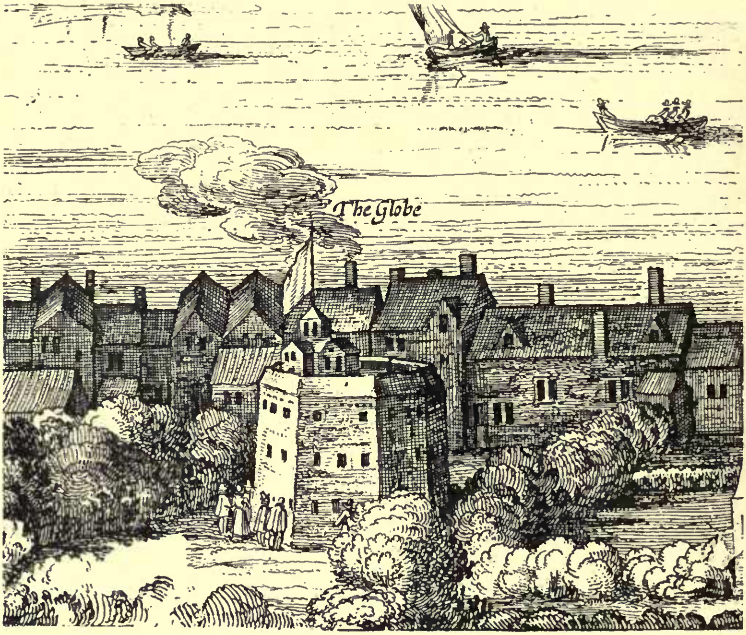
It is well to pause awhile here, for the story of the stage and its literature in its earliest efforts is full of interest to Londoners. Mrs Stopes is our best authority for some of this, and I quote from her the salient facts. In 1571 the privy council decreed that all strolling-players, who were not "the servants of a nobleman," should be dealt with as vagabonds. James Burbage, a man of the people, not rich, nor university bred, but a joiner by trade, enrolled himself among "the servants" of the favourite, Sir Robert Dudley. He and his fellow-actors were not even then safe, for the lord mayor, on the grounds of disturbances from public performances, interfered much with the freedom of even "the servants of noblemen." Then James Burbage asked the Earl of Leicester to secure a royal patent for his company. This he did on 7th May 1574, and thereby turned the mumming of the vagabond into the profession of an artist. The patent was addressed to all mayors and all corporations to permit James Burbage and his fellows "to use, exercise, and occupy the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, interludes, and stage plays . . . without any of your lets and hindrances . . . as you tender our pleasure." But London did not tender the Royal pleasure.



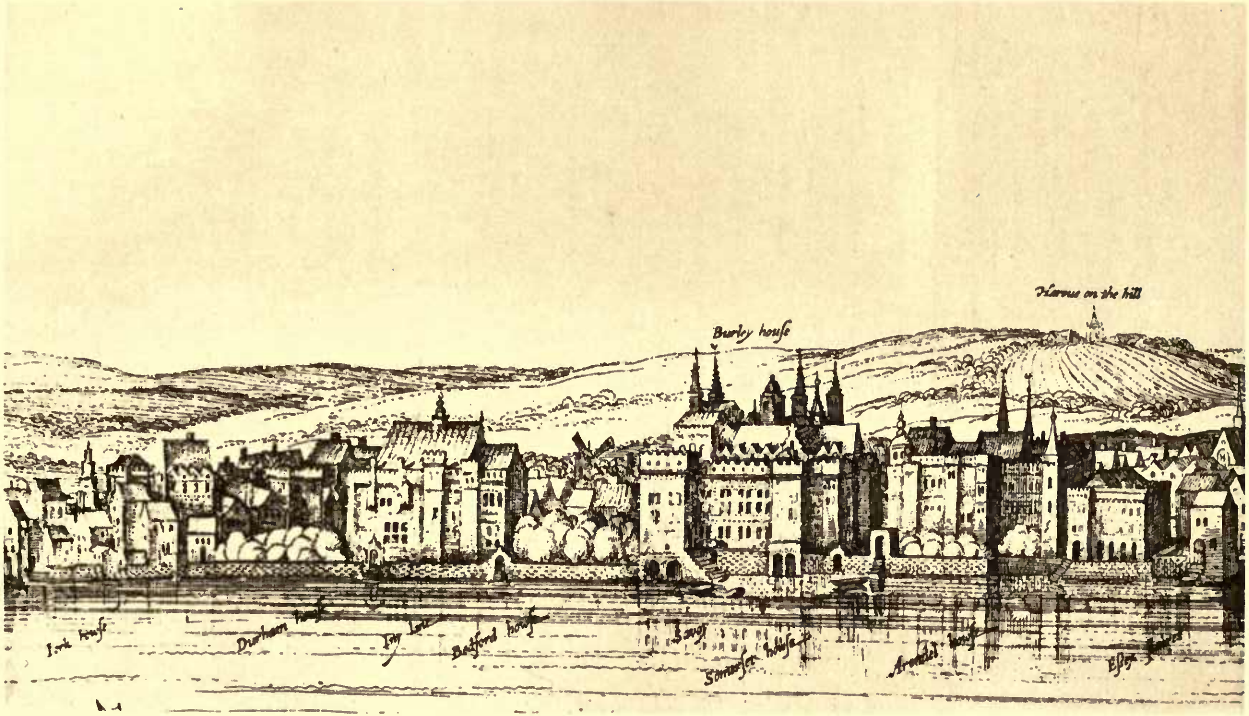
The Bear Garden, 1616, from N. J. Visscher's View of London.

The lord mayor and the corporation refused to allow any players to play without a licence from them, and without giving half their profits to the poor. The following year it disallowed players altogether in the city, and forbade them to play in innyards, or open places, in the liberties. James Burbage, while necessarily submitting, circumvented their orders by building in 1576 in the liberty of Holywell, north of Finsbury Fields, an enclosed building for himself outside of the city jurisdiction, and he became "the first builder of playhouses"—a pioneer even in the name, for he called it "The Theatre." James Burbage had secured premises in another "liberty"—rooms belonging to Sir William More in the disused monastic buildings of Blackfriars, which he arranged and fitted as a theatre, so that if the worst came to the worst at his theatre at Holywell, he would have another place whereon to stand. His sons, Cuthbert and Richard, pulled down the theatre, taking advantage of the order of the corporation for its destruction, so as to secure the material, and carried it to Bank Side by St Saviour's. There they rebuilt it, a phœnix theatre, the finest in the land; and they called it "The Globe." In it Richard, the great expressor, translated the ideals of Shakespeare, the great creator, till they had moved the city and the court to wonder, and made the introduction of the theatre one of the glories to be credited to Tudor London.

Plantagenet London would not have acted thus. She would have recognised Shakespeare as she had recognised Chaucer, and the birthplace of the English drama would have been in the heart of the city instead of being banished to its unestablished purlieus. The whole business is on a petty scale. The Lord Mayor writes to the Lord Chancellor on 12th April 1550, informing "him that the players of plays used at the Theatre and other such places, and tumblers and such like, were a very superfluous sort of men." Against such an opinion as this even the court was powerless. The Lords of the Council urged "that without frequent exercise of such plays as were to be presented before Her Majesty, her servants could



The Globe Theatre 1616, from N. J. Visscher's View of London.


Harowe on the hill
Burley houſe
Iork houſe
Durham houſe
Ivy Lane
Bedford houſe
Savoy
Somerſet houſe
Arundel houſe
Eſſex houſe

THE STRAND IN 1616.

From Nicolas John Visscher's View of London.

not conveniently satisfy her recreation," and the city wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury informing him how "the youths of the city were greatly corrupted, and their manners infected with many evils and ungodly qualities by reason of the wanton and profane devices represented on the stage." Later on, in 1597, they urged the Lords of the Council to suppress the Theatre, the Curtain, and the Bankside.[1]

One thing will be noted from these facts, namely, that London was getting outside its walls. It is only one of the signs of an entirely new development which began in Tudor times—namely, the expansion of the city beyond the ancient lines. We are face to face with a new London. The new London is not only new institutionally, but it begins to be new in form. New problems arising from the expansion arise at once, and neither the city nor the state attempted to grapple with them. They were left to solve themselves, and have not yet been solved, but they overwhelmed London.

We come upon the problem of expansion quite suddenly and quite incidentally. It gathers quickly, but it is not dealt with and is only recognised in a petty way. Yet it is from this stage onward going to be the dominant note in London history. It is going to sway statesmen and municipalists. It is going to determine the possibilities of London in relation to the state. There is a moment when it could have been grappled with, and when that moment was allowed to pass without action, perhaps purposely allowed to pass, the destiny of London for three hundred years was fixed on a low plane, on a plane that it has never before occupied. It will compel us to write of decadence, to come across events which tell of the shame of the city, to see once more the old light of city independence flaming from the deadness of neglect and then flickering and dying out, to close our view with a strong yearning for the greatness of the past, but with doubts as to the possibility of achievement. The story of the expansion of London is heavy with disappointments and disillusions, alleviated only by that incurable optimism which comes from the glory of the past.

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[1] See the section devoted to "Plays and Players" in *Remembrancia*, pp. 350–357.

We must note some facts of this expansion. There is no such difficulty as we noted in connection with the topography of London in pre-Tudor days. There are remains of Tudor buildings, Tudor maps, and Tudor literature, all of them glorious expressions of the age. The ancient walls were necessary to Tudor London. In a poem written *circa* 1576, entitled *A warning to London by the fall of Antwerp*,[1] by Rafe Norris, we see by one of the allusions that the walls of London were looked upon as important elements in the city's safety—

> "Keep sure thy trench, prepare thy shot."

And again—

> "Erect your walles, give out your charge."

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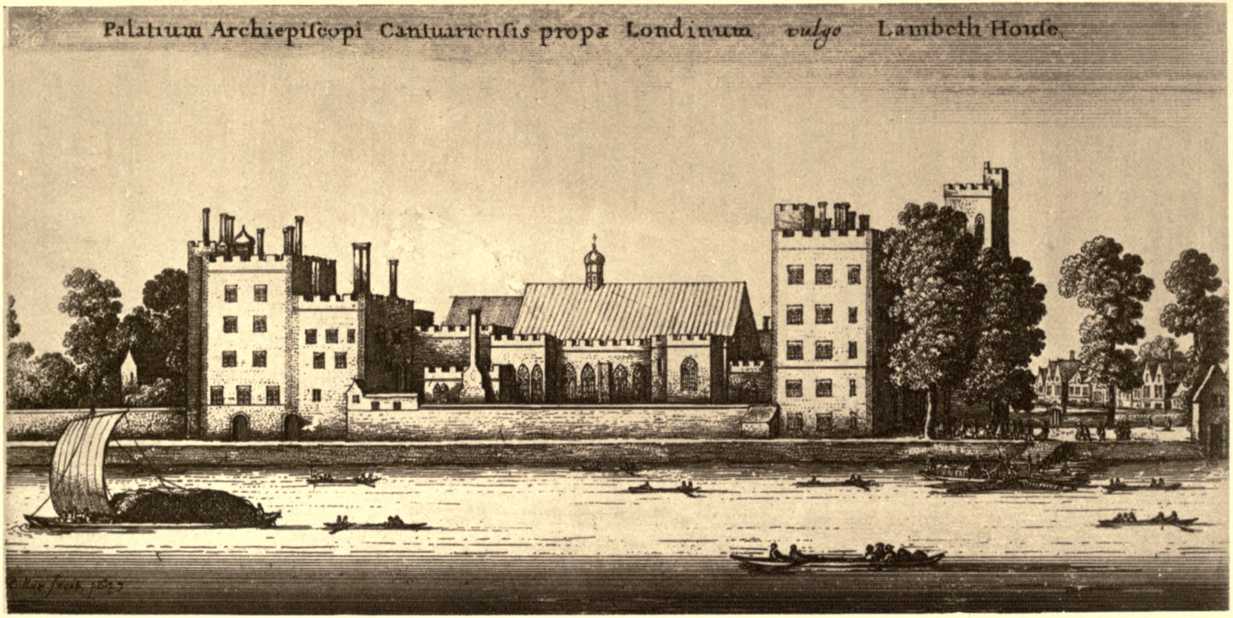
[1] This is printed by the Percy Society, vol. i.


Palatium Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis propæ Londinum vulgo Lambeth Houſe.
ollar fecit 1647

LAMBETH PALACE IN 1647.

From an engraving by Hollar.

Expansion began with palaces — palaces of the sovereign, of the new nobility, of the princes of the Church, all deeming it necessary to congregate in London at the commencement of its new chapter of history as capital city. Henry VIII. seized Whitehall from Wolsey, and occupied Eltham, as it had been occupied since the days of Henry IV. Both these buildings still retain fragments of their former glory in the present day. Underground Whitehall is still Wolsey's Whitehall. The hall at Eltham is still an architectural glory of the fourteenth century (Appendix VII.). The palaces of the nobility extended along the Strand front from the city walls to Westminster, the last of them, Northumberland House at Charing Cross, having been destroyed in 1874,[1] while those of the Church were principally situated in Southwark. Remains of Winchester House still exist in the municipal fire brigade residence; remains of Brandon House were dug up only a few years ago, and are preserved as memorials of Tudor architecture in the London museum, while the house itself is pictured on Van Wyngaerde's beautiful drawing. The Archbishop of Canterbury located himself at Lambeth, and his lordship of London had been at Fulham since Alfred's time. We get into closer touch with this expansion by a passage in Stow's *Annals*, quoted by Furnival from Howes's edition of 1631 (p. 1048). "There hath beene much encrease of Buildings in all parts aforesaid, chiefly whereof I now speake, is from the West part of Holbourne and Bloomesbury, and the parts on that side, and on the other side of the way in a place anciently called the Elmes, of Elmes that grew there, where Mortimer was executed, and let hang two dayes and two nights to be seene of the people, as you may reade; which place hath now left his name, and is not knowne to one man of a Million where that place was; and from thence the New faire buildings called Queenes street leading vnto Drury lane; and then on the other side the high way in the great Field, anciently called Long Acar, with the South side of the street called Couent Garden that leadeth vnto Saint Martins Lane, which is newly made a faire streete."

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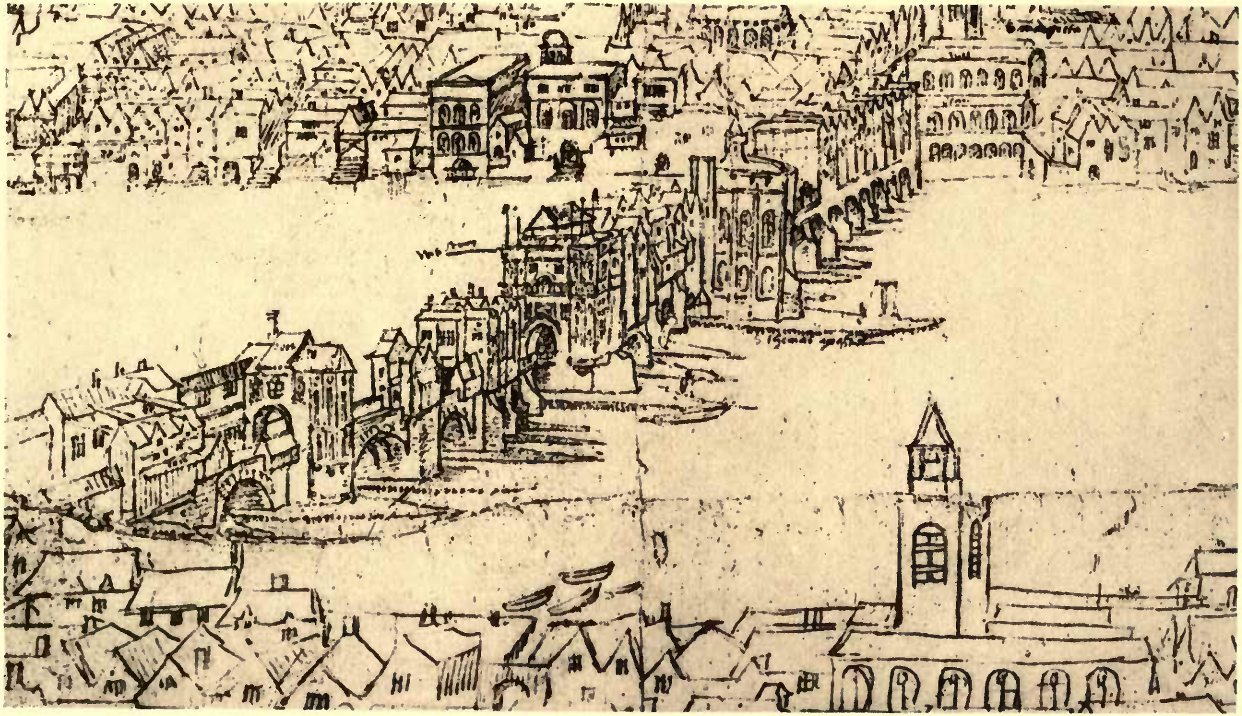
[1] A list of these, with some descriptive notes, is given in *Journ. British Archæological Association*, 1906, pp. 217–230.

The note of expansion thus expressed in the literature of the day also gave birth to the production of picture maps of London. Wyngaerde, in the middle of the sixteenth century, produced the earliest view of London which has been preserved to modern times. It is a great representation of the city, and cameos from it could be taken at several points. London Bridge is beautifully pictured, and the view of the king's palace of Whitehall is extraordinarily interesting. Another map of the period is printed in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572, by Braun and Hogenburg, all the features of which are distinctly Elizabethan, especially the buildings westward of Temple Bar. The famous map of Ralph Agas has been dated from internal evidence by Mr Fairman



LONDON BRIDGE, about 1550.
From Anthony van der Wyngaerde's View of London.

Ordish at 1561. Charing Cross, Whitehall (called "the Courte"), Westminster, St James Park are well depicted; the territory of Lincoln's Inn is enclosed; the residence of the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, upon "the backe wall" of which, "in Chauncerie Lane," whiteblowe or whitelowe grass, the English "naile woort," was noted by Gerard the Herbalist to grow plentifully, is shown; the road to Theobalds, passing Clerkenwell and the hospital of St John of Jerusalem, is plainly marked; the Strand, Temple Bar, and Fleet Street, the river, with its many features of interest, and the St Paul's area are notable points in this remarkable map. The Norden map of 1593 is well known and shows some of the most notable parts of the city and Westminster.[1]

London is shown by these facts to have assumed outwardly the position of a great European city, and that is undoubtedly the true way of estimating Tudor London. Neither in literature nor in art have we any representations or any suggestions of a similar position accorded to Plantagenet London. The distinction is a true distinction. Plantagenet London was a great London in England; Tudor London was a great London in Europe. This conception is still further conveyed by the direction given by Isabella d'Este to the Mantuan ambassador at Venice, in 1523, to secure representations of the chief cities of Europe in order to adorn her palace. London was one of those cities, and the fresco still remains there, blurred and spoiled, but still showing London in outline much as Norden represented it in 1593.

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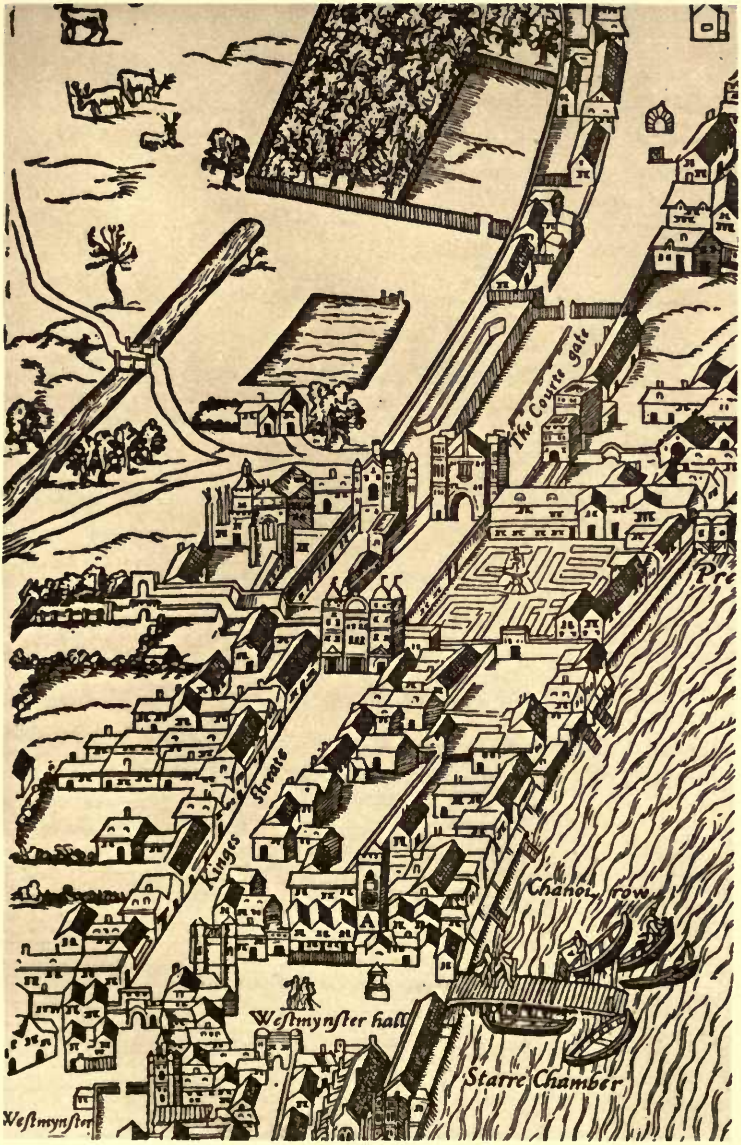
[1] Mr Wheately has described this map in Furnival's edition of Harrison's *Description of England*, vol. i. pp. lxxxix–cvi (New Shakspere Soc.).

This was the Tudor London which was to be visited by the foreign traveller, as Paris, Vienna, Venice, and Florence, and other cities had hitherto been visited. In all the visitings to this country, London was ever the foremost glory of England. Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, came in 1592. On the 10th of August, having arrived at Gravesend overland from Dover, "a small vessel was ordered and we embarked upon the river Thames, which is tolerably broad, and in which there are many swans. We then sailed towards London. Upon the left-hand side of the river we passed the beautiful and pleasant royal palace of Greenwich." He went straight to London. It is described as a large, excellent, and mighty city of business. Most of the inhabitants are employed in buying and selling merchandise and trading in almost every corner of the world; it is a very populous city, so that one can scarcely pass along the streets on account of the throng; the inhabitants are magnificently apparelled, and are extremely proud and overbearing, and because the greater part of them seldom go into other countries, but always remain in their houses in the city attending to their business, they care little for foreigners, but scoff and laugh at them, and there is a mass of other criticism. On the 14th August his Highness and


The Courte gate
Pre
Kinges Streate
Chanon row
A
Weſtmynſter hall
Starre Chamber
Weſtmynſter

WHITEHALL, about 1560.
From Ralph Agas' Map.

suite went in wherries (gundeln—gondolas) to the beautiful and royal church called Westminster, and he went to a stately banquet at the residence of Beauvois, the French ambassador, who had a beautiful country house distant from London about two English miles, that is, at Hackney. He discussed many things, and among them the possibility of invasion, when he was told that the soldiers were excellent, but they do not willingly go on foreign service, and that in case of war with an enemy wishing to subdue England entirely, the enemy would have to make up his mind to fight eight pitched battles and to confront from thirty to forty thousand men in each.[1]

Another Prince of Wirtemberg, Lewis Frederick, came over in 1610, and was conducted to London from Gravesend in the royal barges, and lodged in the inn called "The Black Eagle." Among the ceremonies the prince took part in was a visit to the resident ambassador of the States of the United Provinces, "who lives out of the city opposite Westminster, in a very fine house of his own, and with beautiful gardens round about: it is called Sudlambet," South Lambeth.[2]

The most interesting of all travelled accounts is, of course, that of Paul Hentzner in 1598. His account of his reception at Greenwich Palace is well known and has been often quoted. It was here, he says, Elizabeth the present queen was born, and here she generally resides, particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of its situation.[1] Sources not so well known, however, show some aspects of Tudor London and its palace on the Thames which were not revealed by the traveller from continental Europe. Queen Elizabeth loved her Greenwich home in a special way, and we have a letter in the Rutland collection, dated 2nd June 1583, which describes how "Her Majesty cam yesterday to Greenwich from my Lord Treasurer's. She was never in any place better pleased, and sure the howse, garden, and walks may compare with any delicat place in Itally."[2]

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[1] W. B. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners, temp. Eliz. and James*, pp. 1–53.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 57–66.

We cannot doubt that the London of this age—Tudor and Stuart London, that is—could bear this comparison. The architectural glories coming therefrom would tell us this, even if nothing else did. But if the descriptions by visitors, by travelled foreigners, all bear testimony to this aspect of Tudor London, there are also fragments more precious because they were not written for the public eye. One such fragment, a little later in date but in spirit belonging to this period, "An English Traveler's first curiosity: or the knowledge of his owne countrey by Henry Belasyse, 1657," gives us such a glimpse of London amidst the wider view he is taking as to stir one's imagination. It begins with a description of Greenwich,[3] which "is more famous and beautifull for

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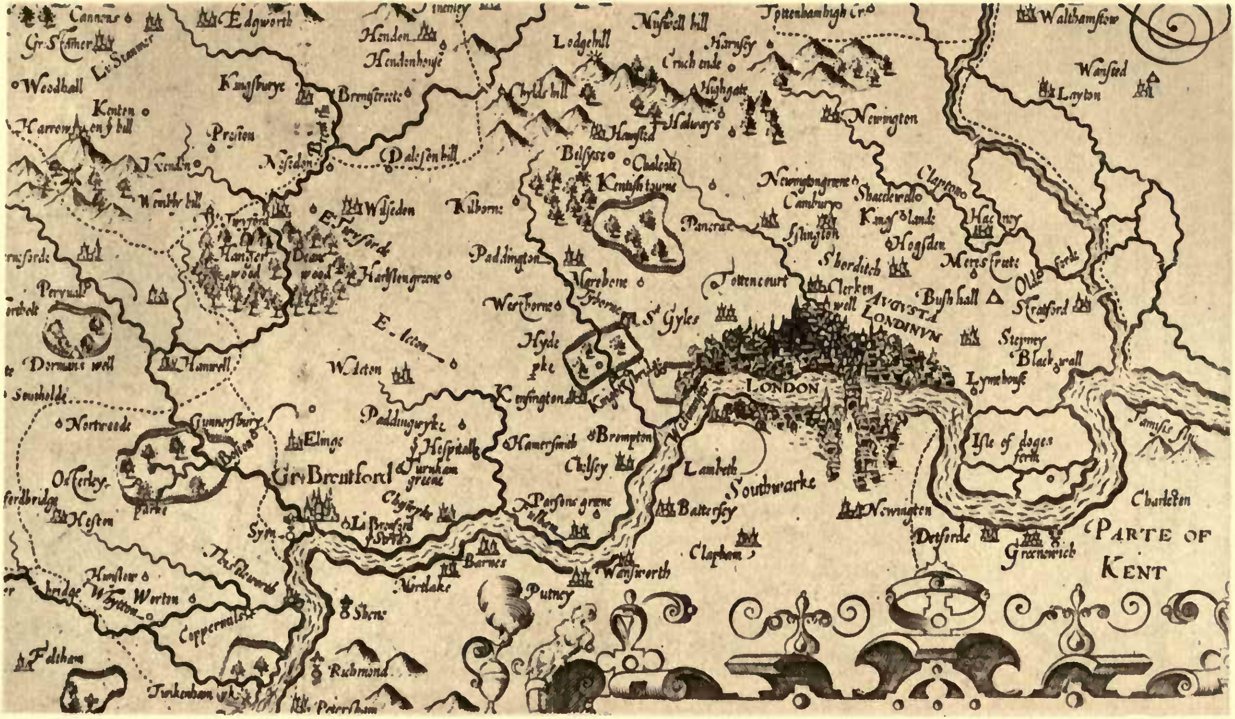
[1] Hentzner's *Journey into England*, p. 47.

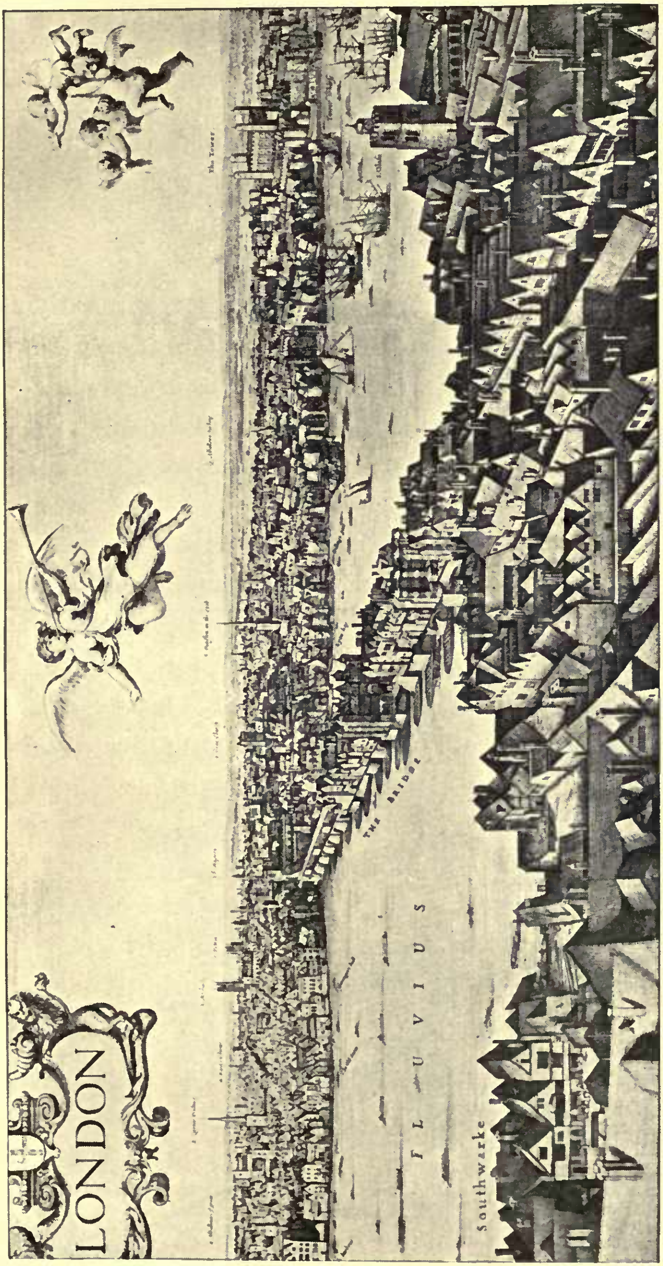
[2] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (iv.), p. 150.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Com., Various Collections*, ii. pp. 201–202.


Cannons
Gr. Stanmer
Lt. Stanmer
Edgworth
Woodhall
Kingsburye
Henden
Hendenhouse
Lodgehill
Muswell hill
Tottenham high cr.
Walthamstow
Wansted
Layton
Kenten
Harrow on ẏ hill
Preston
Brent
Bremstreete
Dalisenhill
Childs hill
Crouch ende
Harnsey
Highgate
Halways
Hamsted
Newington
Belsyse
Chalcot
Kentish towne
Newington greene
Shacklewell
Clapton
Hackney
Wembly hill
Nesden
Wilsden
Twyford
E. Twyforde
Hanger wood
Dean wood
Harlsdengreene
Kilborne
Pancrace
Camburye
Islington
Kings lande
Hogsden
Paddington
Marebone
Tybourne
Sherditch
Clerken well
Mere streete
Olde forde
Stratford
Perivale
Westborne
Totten court
Bush hall
Augusta Londinum
St Gyles
Stepney
Blackwall
Dormans well
Hanwell
E. Acton
W. Acton
Hyde pke
Lymehouse
Southolde
Kensington
London
Nortwoode
Gunnersbury
Elinge
Paddingwyke
Hospitall
Hamersmith
Brompton
Isle of doges ferme
Thamise fly.
Osterley
Bostom
Gr. Brentford
Turnham greene
Chilsey
Lambeth
Southwarke
Charleton
Westminster
Chiswyke
Lt. Brentford
Parsons greene
Fulham
Battersey
Newington
Bedfont
Heston
Syon
Clapham
Detforde
Greenwich
Parte of Kent
Barnes
Wansworth
Thistleworth
Hunslow
Worton
Mortlake
Putney
Whytton
Sheene
Coppermills
Feltham
Richmond
Twikenham
Petersham

LONDON AND SUBURBS, about 1580.

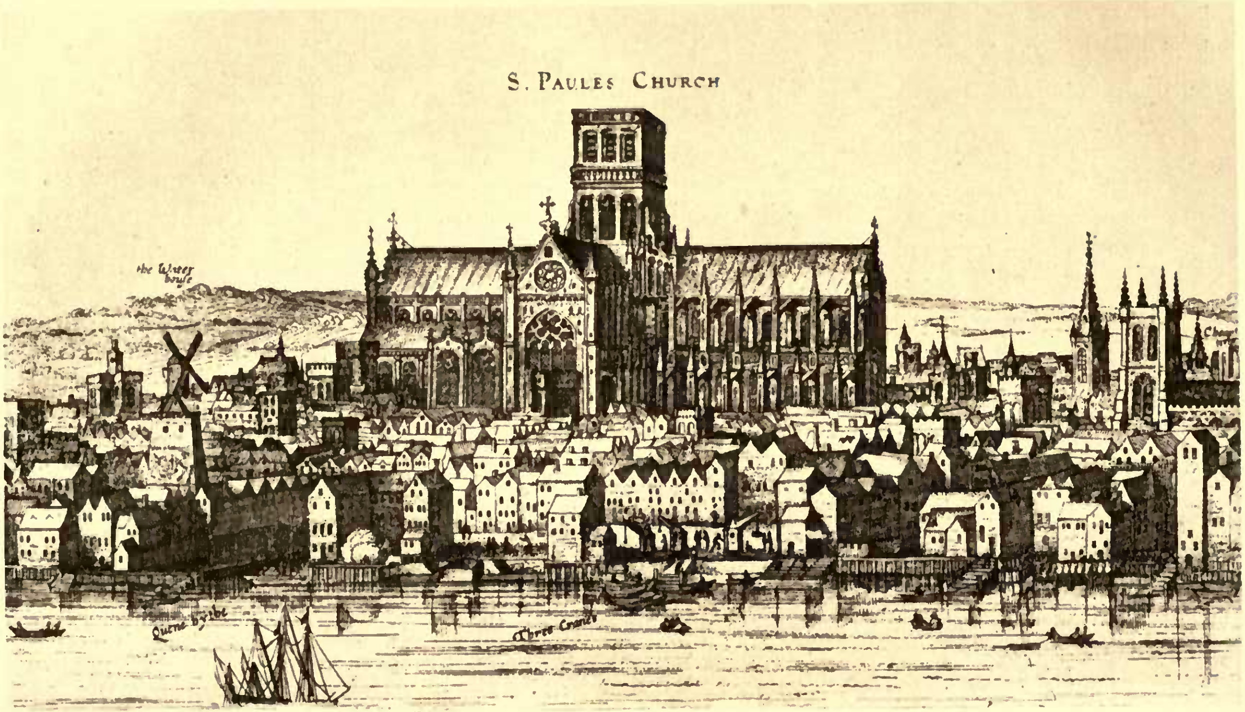
From a map by Christopher Saxton.


LONDON
The Tower
THE BRIDGE
FLUVIUS
Southwarke

London in 1647, part of Hollar's View.

its situation then for the castle [Windsor] itselfe. Here is the best prospect in Europe sayth judicious Barckley in his *Icon Ammarum*, for under the hill runneth Themms, and from thence to London is loaden with so many tall ships that their verry masts looke like an old forest. On boath sides of the river are seen pleasant green meadowes like so many gardens, and at the end of the prospect a goodly great citty, London, shewing its broad sides; all which concurring together make that this castle may most deservedly be called the Belvidere of Europe; neither that of St Germains in France, of Frescati in Italy, or of Constantinople in Greece comeing neere this prospect for trew beauty and pleasantness. The chief citty of England, and in my opinion the greatest of Europe but one, Paris, is London. Theires nothing heare but hansome. Hansome inhabitants; rich shopps, tow rare exchanges, noble palaces upon the rivers side; streets both large and long, neat buildings and walkes of the Inns of Courts, curious feilds on all sides of it, exquisit markets in it well stored with all provisions; the commodity of the river and boates, the prodigious bridge, the dew and dayly visit of the ebbing and flowing of the sea in the Themms, which, visiting London dewly once a day, either bringeth to it, or carryeth from it, all merchandise the world can afforde it, or it the world. The greatest ships that ride upon the sea come and unload in London in the very harte of the towne."

The grandeur that had come to Tudor London did


S. Paules Church
the Water house
Queene hythe
Three Cranes

OLD ST. PAUL'S, 1616.

From Nicolas John Visscher's View of London.

not wipe out the black spots in it. Bishop Latimer could write as follows of the very centre: "I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's churchyard, and this I speak of experience, for I myself, when I have been there in some mornings to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-favoured, unwholesome savour that I was the worse for it a great while after."[1] London was also worse for it in that dismal year of the plague which followed surely upon such conditions.

Expansions of the city beyond the walls brought very direct results upon London. It began very early to affect the government of London, and I will quote one or two curious pieces of evidence of this. The western suburbs, extending to the Strand and to Holborn, began to be occupied by business people, who did not have over them the strict government of the city. In 1590 an outbreak took place, and an assault was made upon Lincoln's Inn, for what purpose is not very clear. We find an account of this disturbance in a proclamation issued by the queen on the 23rd September, in the "thirty-second yeere of her raign," and dated from Ely Place. This proclamation sets forth particulars which illustrate the entire absence of any properly constituted government outside the city.

"Where the Queenes most excellent maiestie being giuen to understand of a very great outrage lately committed by some apprentices and others, being masterlesse men and vagrant persons in and about the surburbs of the Citie of London, in assaulting of the house of Lincolnes Inne and the breaking and spoyling of diuers chambers in the said house, which offences her highnesse is minded to haue to be duely examined and thereupon aswel the offenders therein, as also such persons of the said house of Lincolnes Inne as did by any meanes giue any occasion to prouoke the same unlawful outrage, to be duely and very seuerely punished according to their demerits, hath therefore thought good for the better auoyding of such like outrages hereafter, straightly to charge and command all such as be any householders within the seuerall parishes of S. Dunstanes, S. Brides, S. Andrewes in Holborne, S. Giles in the Field, S. Martin in the Field, the Strond, and S. Clement without the Temple Barre, that they and euery of them doe cause all their apprentices, journeymen, servants, and family in their seuerall houses, other than such as shall be appointed to keepe seuerall watches, to tarry and abide within their seuerall houses, and not to be suffered to goe abroad after nine of the clocke at night upon paine of imprisonment."

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[1] *Bishop Latimer's Sermons*, edited by Dr John Watkins, 1824, vol. ii. p. 282.

This regulation was to be in force for six days only, and one cannot help wondering why such a regulation could possibly be allowed. Another example comes from the very source of its origin. Among the Hatfield papers is a certificate of the under-bailiff of Westminster (13th September 1598), "touching the search which was done according to Cecil's direction. Such persons as were taken within the liberty were carried before the Lord Mayor and Justices, who punished some, and others had certificate to convey them whether they should go. Divers the bakers of Westminster much forget themselves in breaking that assize in their bread that is held in London. He has no means in the absence of the clerk of the market to compel them to observe good assize, except it shall please Cecil to give warrant for such assize to be kept there as is in London, and in default punishment to be inflicted according to law."[1]

There can be no question about such instances as these. The governance of London was slipping away. It could not grasp the problem of expansion when it began under the Tudors. A half measure was attempted in 1636 by incorporating "divers places in the city and suburbs, and three miles compass of the same," and taking into their body "as well Freemen of London, as others of the King's subjects using any art, occupation or mystery or trade by retail, inhabiting within their precincts, except weavers, brickmakers, and tilemakers, who were reserved till further order should be given for their admittance."[2] This was done by order in council against the objections of the city that it

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.* (*Hatfield, viii.*), p. 344.

[2] *Remembrancia,* pp. 227–229.

"would be very prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the city," and these self-same objections of the city remain to this day.

Perhaps these difficulties are the natural following from others, but there was a definite divergence from the ancient ideas of civic government in 1580. Edward VI., boy king that he was, lived long enough to show that he aimed at setting right some of the evils which flowed from the revolutionary doings of his father. Among his most signal acts towards this purpose is his gift of his palace of Bridewell—"a faire purchased place called Bridewell"[1]—in the city to the poor of London. Fortunately, there has been preserved the scheme for the management of this institution, and an examination reveals two important facts: first, the remarkable character of the provisions themselves; secondly, their entire independence of city government. The scheme was issued in 1580, and I must quote certain of its more important clauses.

The title of the document is "Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London, for setting roges and idle persons to worke, and for releefe of the poore." The clauses which I must quote are as follows:—

"1. For releefe of the poore, and for setting to worke of vagaraunt people, there are to be set up in Bridewell certaine artes, occupations, workes, and labours."

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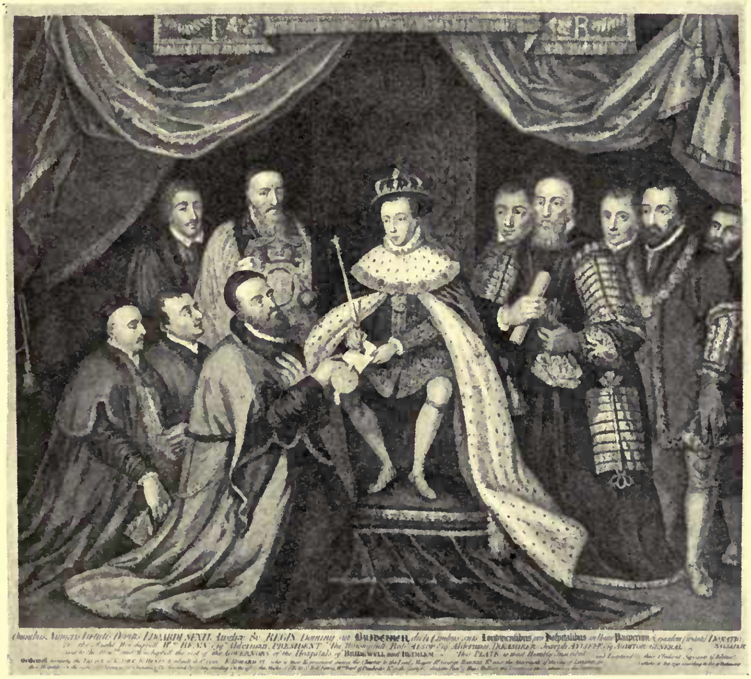
[1] *Tell-Trothes New Yeares Gift,* 1593 (New Shakspere Soc.), p. 22.

"2. There are to be provided stocke & tooles for those workes. There is to be provided bedding, apparrell, and dyet for those poore to be set to worke."



King Edward VI. presenting the Charters of the Bridewell, Bethlem hospitals.

"4. Within convenient time after the day limitted by such Proclamation a generall search shalbe made, and lykewise new generall searches from time to time as shalbe requisite, throughout the Cittie and the liberties therof at one instant, & all the vagarants that shalbe there founde shalbe brought to Bridewell to be examined."

"8. Those whom the Cittie by Law is charged to provide for and are able to work, shalbe received into Bridewell, and there kept with thin diet, onely sufficing to sustaine them in health, and shalbe set to work in such of the workes, labours, and occupations as they shall be found fittest for."

"25. By the Inquest shalbe there enquired, if [there be any] idle persons, roges, vagabunds, and other suspect persons which lyve disorderly or suspiciously or spend their times at Bowling allies, playes, and other places unthriftily: & whether the meane officers doo their dueties, and all other matters, as in the charge of leetes: and that speedy processe be used according to the law for the reformation without delay."

"28. In every parrish a general survey to be made, by the Constable, Churchwardens, Collectors for the poore, and vi. other of the Parishners of all their poore and needye neighbors of the Parish, *viz.* of every house particularly, the names of the dwellers, the children and servauntes, the sexe and age of every one, and which be able to labour and whereupon, and who be utterly impotent to any labour."

"41. Of such companies of this City as wel the worshipfull as the inferior as the governors of Bridewel shall find to be requisite according to the qualitie of the artes or labors that are to be overseene, there shalbe appointed persons to attend, so as there may be every day two attending at Bridewell to oversee the workes, and to give knowledge of the defaults which they shal find, to the governours, on paine of xx. shillings to be payed to the wardens if they appoynt not, being therunto required by the space of a weeke before, & on paines of vi. shillings viii. pence to be paid by every of the parties appointed, if he attend not being warned three daies before at the least, the sayd paines to be to the use of the poore in Bridewell and to be levied by distresse."

"42. Where in the Savoy are lodged nightly great numbers of idle wicked persons, cutpurses, cousiners, and such other theeves, & there in the night are hidden from officers and in the day do use their rogish life, so that the same place honorably ordeined is by such abuse made a noursery of roges, theeves, idle and dronken persons: for remedy therof, request to be made to the maister of that house, that speciall persons be appoynted to examine such as shall come to lodge in the Savoy that such be lodged there as be of honest fame, poore men comming up for their sutes or causes, or such as are knowen & can gyve accompt of their labour in the day time, and no other: & if any such lewde roges be founde there, the officers of the Savoy or the Justices to whom it may appertaine may send them to such place as they ought to be sent by lawe."

"49. . . . . Artes, Occupations, Labors, and Works to be set up in Bridewell.

"The worke in the Milles; the worke in the Lighter & unlading of Sand; the carying of sand; making of shoes; thicking of Cappes by hand and foote; knitting of hose; spinning of Linnen yarne; spinning of Candell weeke; making of Packthreed; drawing of wier; making of woll Cardes; making of Nayles; making of gloves; making of Combes; making of Inkle and tape; making of silke Lace; making of Aparrell for the house; spinning of wollen yrne; making of Pinnes; making of Pointes; making of Knives; making of Tennise-balles; making of Bayes; making of Feltes; picking of woll for Felts; or any other that may fall in practise."

"51. To avoid the perill that the setting a worke of vagrants in the said Artes at Bridewell might be to the overthrow of the worke and to the undoing of poore cittizens housholders, and their families that live by working in the same arts for other, or by retaling of things wrought: Therfore the governours of Bridwell shall consult with the Wardens and discrete men of those companies that use the working or selling of such things as shalbe wrought in Bridewel, as shoomakers and other, that the said companies and their housholders shal deliver their worke to such number in Bridwel as they may with the benefit of their company, and shall pay for the same at reasonable rates to their profit."

"54. For the better releefe of the poore, the leather that shalbe founde faulty in this Citty and seised as forfayted, shall never for any price come to the use of the searchers, or sealers of leather, but shall wholy be to Christes hospital, and Bridewell, to be there made into shooes for the poore, by the poore that shall worke there: and the searchers shall have their portion in money according to the praisement."

"55. Provision is to be made for apparell, bedding, and meate for the sayd poore, for tooles, and for stocke and stuffe for the occupations, for making of Milles, and buying of Lighters, for fees and wages of Bedelles and other necessary poore attendauntes: and therfore a competent & sufficient portion of money is to be had, which by an estimate for one yeere accompting for ii, c. [200] persons amounteth about ii, m, l. [£2000]."

"66. That the preachers be moved at the sermons at the Crosse & other convenient times, specially in the terme time, & that other good notorious meanes be used, to require both Citizens, Artificers, and other, and also all farmers and other for husbandry, and gentlemen and other for their kitchins & other services, to take servants and children both out of Bridewell and Christs Hospitall at their pleasures, with declaration what a charitable deed it shalbe not onely for the releefe of those whom they shall so take into service, but also of multitudes of other that shall from time to time be taken into the hospitals in their places, and so be preserved from perishing, with offer also that they shall have them conveniently apparelled & bound with them for any competent number of yeeres, with further declaration that many of them be of toward quallities in readyng, wryting, Grammer, and Musike."[1]

These provisions show the changes which the destruction of the monasteries had brought about, as well as the methods adopted to meet the distress caused by the changes. They are far-reaching and representative of the new order of things, while their practical value, even from the point of view of modern industrial requirements, is self-evident. The economic necessities are met by wise provisions (51), and there is an evident endeavour to meet the great necessity by a careful study of the situation likely to be produced by this new measure of state control over the labour of the very poor. Incidentally, we have a somewhat lurid picture of the lower life of Tudor London.

The king who was doing this for London was doing a great thing in a great manner, but the manner of doing it reveals an encroachment upon the city organisation. The mayor is represented in a contemporary picture as receiving the royal charter,[2] but neither mayor nor council has any part in the control of this new plan of meeting the needs of the poor in London. The gilds in their new form of companies have certain practical duties to per-

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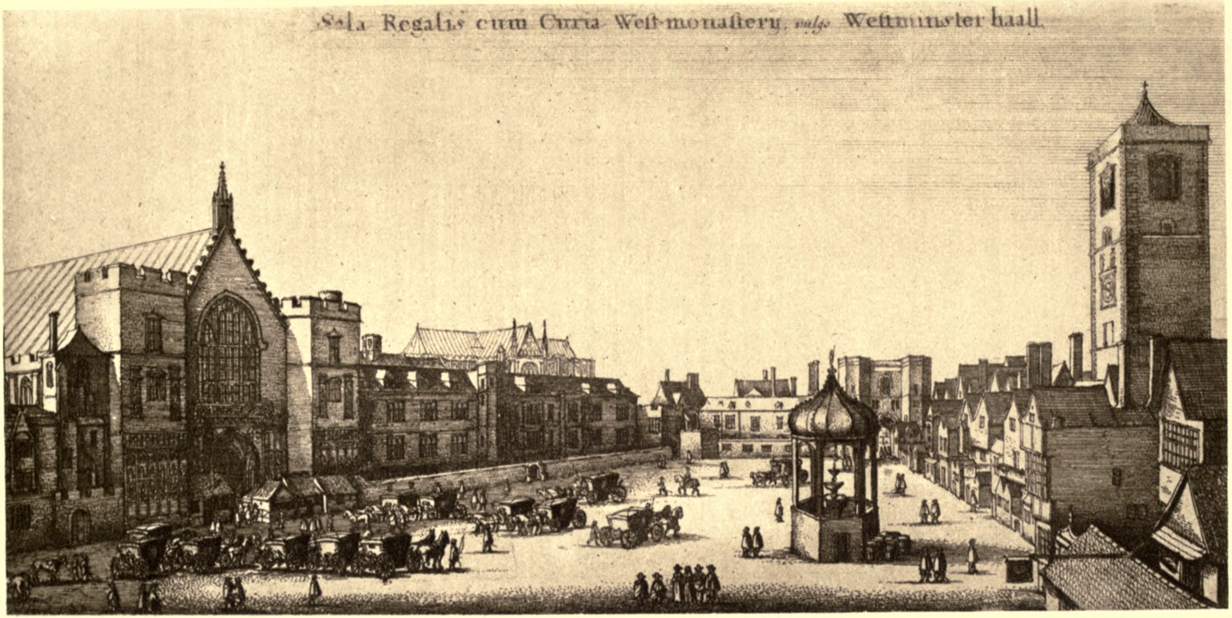
[1] This is printed from a fuller transcript contributed to the *Antiquary,* vol. xiii. pp. 143–146, by Dr Charles Gross.

[2] *Ante,* p. 223. "A picture of Edward VI. delivering to the Lord Mayor of London his royal charter whereby he gave up his royal palace of Bridewell to be converted into an hospital and workhouse" was "in the great hall at Bridewell"; *Archæologia,* vol. iii. p. 190.


Sala Regalis cum Curia Weſt-monaſtery, vulgo Weſtminster haall

WESTMINSTER HALL, about 1645.

From an engraving by Hollar.

form, but the city has no constitutional powers, and in its place appear the smaller units of the parish. Whether the parish was fixed upon as representative of the religious authorities that had been swept away is not quite clear, but even then the entire ignoring of the city authority betokens a change which is only at the beginning of changes now rapidly to take place. Whether the change was deliberate and determined it is impossible to say, but on the whole it seems to flow from the new condition of things quite naturally, and looks as if the bringing in of the parish into the local government of the city, contra the old city form of government, was the result not the cause of the changes which had eaten into Tudor London. The new policy spread deeply into the country under the great poor law act of Elizabeth, and the country has not yet recovered from the fissure in its institutional system which it produced, and which all later legislation has increased.

The events themselves bring us into close touch with government by proclamation, or even by the direction of the chief minister of the crown, and this is not government, but a merely hopeless system of non-government. How hopeless may be gathered from a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Lord Treasurer, in which it was necessary to explain that "the Mayor of the city for the time being and the Aldermen who had passed the chair, with the Recorder, were Justices of the Peace for the county of the city of London and the suburbs thereof in as ample a manner as any other Justices of Peace in other counties of the realm," and to urge that "the houses in the heart of the city, being daily filled with a great multitude of people of the meaner sort," were under the authority of the city, and that "it would greatly prejudice the citizens if they should be delivered from their authority."[1] The London with which we have been in touch during the centuries over which we have travelled is not this London—the London of new and unconnected systems of government, the London expanding into an area which is devoid of government, the London which has to explain itself. It leaves Tudor London with a blot upon its escutcheon—a great and growing London, no doubt, but a London which was beginning not to know or understand itself.

Despite its greatness, despite the greatness of Tudor thought and action, we have therefore to leave this chapter of London history with a despondent note. London was getting out of hand. Expansion was its dominant feature, but it was unregulated expansion. We are landed into commercialism with the old communal regulated life of the city left far behind, never again to assume a prominent position, but with patches of it here and there in survival, serving only the purpose of hiding up the real change that had come. Tudor London was modern London to all intents and purposes. We realise this in all sorts of ways—from the plays which depict life there, still

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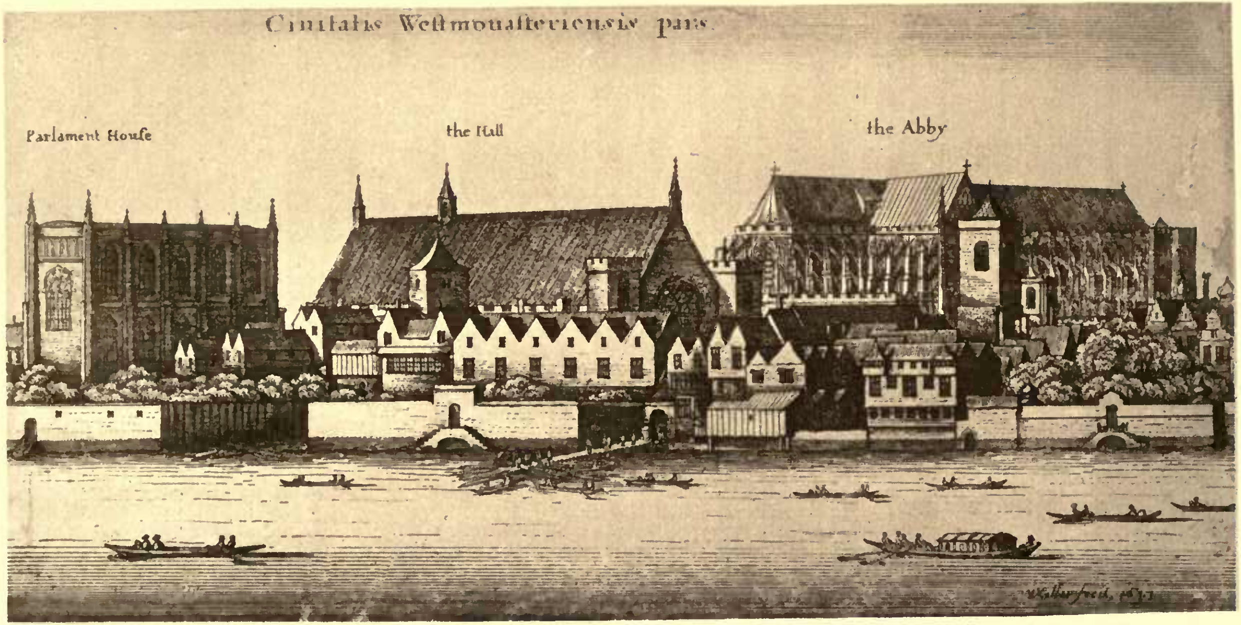
[1] *Remembrancia,* p. 43.


Ciuitatis Weſtmonaſterienſis pars.
Parlament Houſe
the Hall
the Abby
WHollar fecit, 1647

THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER IN 1647.
From an engraving by Hollar.

better from the incidental glimpses of its citizen life which arise in contemporary correspondence and memoirs. The reading is not pleasant, and one feels it is exaggerated. But some facts cannot be exaggerated. Gallant lords, as we have seen, might tell foreign princes of the forces that would meet an invader, but Londoners would bet against the chances of invasion, as they do now, not because they felt they could tackle the emergency when it arose, but because of their indifference to the issue. How intensely modern, for instance, how, indeed, anti-Plantagenet, is its habit of betting upon the most serious subjects, its habit of thinking its commercial success to be a sort of protection against all evil. An example occurs in 1590, when a letter, 25th March, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Sir Thomas Tresame, has the following passage: "Though your lordships who have certain intelligence from foreign parts do assuredly know of a mighty preparation of forces in Spain to attempt the speedy invading of this realm, yet there are very many Protestants that will not in any sort believe it; that wagers will be laid five to one, ten to one, yea, twenty to one, that no invasion will be here attempted this year."[1] We here get Tudor London in right perspective. It is the casual observer's point of view, more telling on that account than the poet, the satirist, or the pamphleteer, who concentrate attention upon exaggerations and leave the ordinary alone.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Various Collections*, iii. p. 56 (Tresham Papers).

London is broken in half by the Tudor changes—the earlier half becoming more and more distant and in the mist. The fact is, we cannot altogether trust Tudor London. The break with the past was inevitable and was politic. But London proceeded on its way with no hold on the future. It dwindled into Stuart London, when it might have commanded Stuart London, commanded it as effectually as English London commanded the change into Norman London. It had great moments, but no real continuity from and to great moments, and that we cannot discriminate between Tudor and Stuart London shows how great has been the change. Nothing seems to come from Tudor London. There is no inheritance from it, and Stuart and Georgian London stumble upon their tasks unaided. I have said it was difficult to carry the lines of continuity across the great chasm separating Tudor and Plantagenet London, and I have almost proved that it is an impossibility. The paradox must stand.

CHAPTER IX

DECADENCE

It is not pleasant to see the title of this chapter and to know that it is justified. London suffered, as all the country suffered, at the hands of the Stuarts, though there is not wanting evidence that in the struggle it once or twice lifted its head above the sordid concepts of the period and was in the eyes of the governing powers something of the same sort of city as Plantagenet sovereigns had had to deal with.

The evidence for this is somewhat remarkable. It relates to the old form of relationship between city and sovereignty, and is contained either in a very strangely accidental use of expressions which formerly were constitutional formulæ or in a resuscitation of these formulæ under the stress of circumstances which certainly were calculated to call them forth if they were there to be called forth.

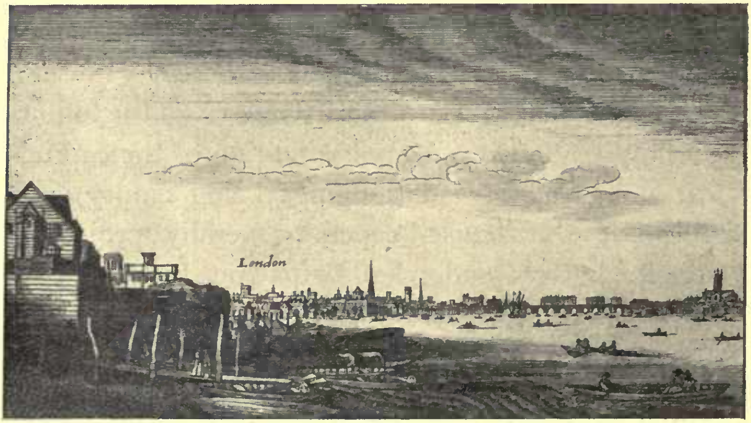
We must go back a little towards Tudor times to understand how Stuart events exemplify continuity in relationship to the sovereignty. Tudor monarchs were great and masterful men and women. Stuart monarchs were wrong-headed and, for the most part, wrong-hearted. The Tudors never so twisted events as to bring about a conscious upsetting of inner workings. The Stuarts were constantly doing it, and their whole attitude to the cities and boroughs affords evidence of this, both in thought and action. The Stuarts were, in fact, bad copies of the Tudors, with just enough genius to comprehend the Tudor greatness, but with not enough character to profit by the comprehension. It is in this detrimental way that Stuart events come to us as continuations of Tudor ideals. Even Stuart events, however, illustrate, if fitfully, the older conditions. We cannot get at the very heart of the events, but on the surface there is enough to indicate what London was feeling, even if it could not always be up and doing. A single act will illustrate this as well as a dozen parallels to it, and I shall be able to quote some documents which will tell us more of the real Stuart London than even the record of definite acts.

They consist of letters and notes devoted to the feelings and wishes of those who take part in the public life, glimpses therefore of the real issues and the underlying foundation of events. From this source we shall be able to restore some links in the chain of continuity which has appeared almost to be broken under the influence of Tudor events.

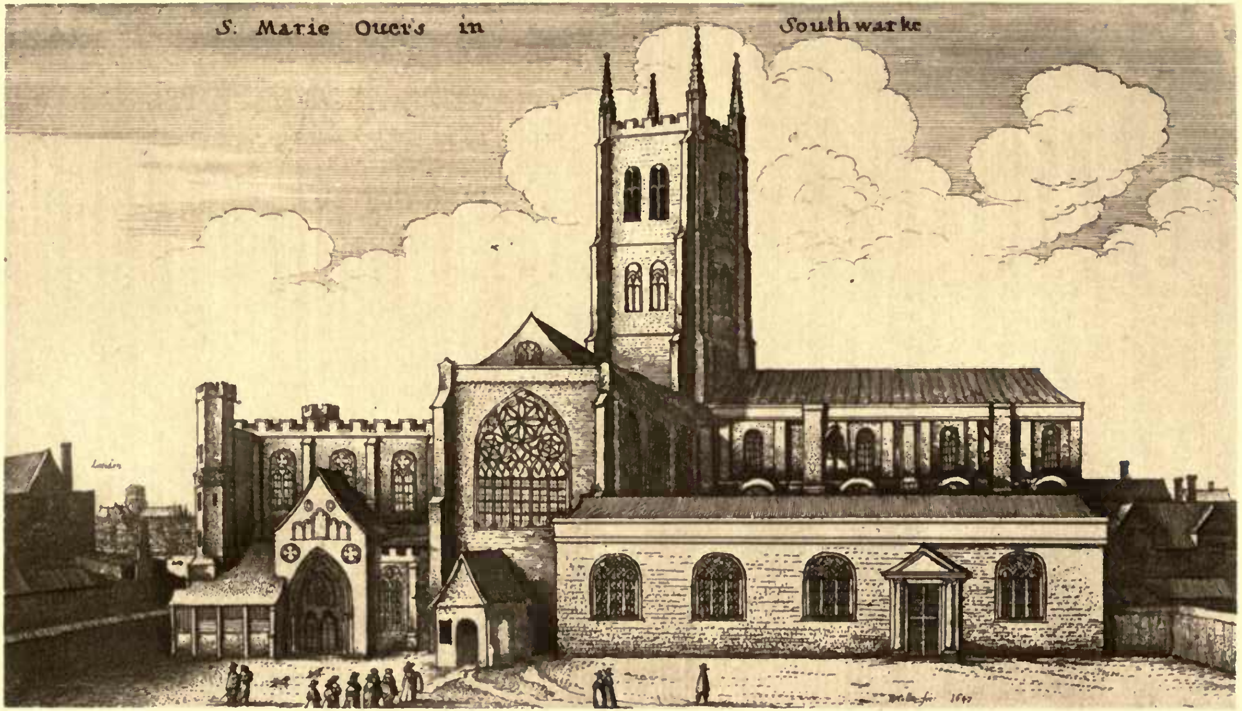
Once more, by the aid of such important sources of information, we shall turn to the relationship of city and state as the principal element in the history of London. The state now, it will be remembered, has changed, and its principal representative, the personal sovereignty, has changed. It is now to change once more, thanks to the perverseness of Charles I. The House of Commons is now to enter into the sovereign power, claiming rights and privileges which the Stuart mind could not grasp, and the struggle for these rights and privileges includes events of supreme importance to the position of London as a city institution.

In 1642 the city was in truth seething with trouble, and this was set forth in a tract entitled *St Hillarie's Tears*, published in that year. It gives us the following glimpses at the internal condition of the capital: "All along the Strand (lodgings being empty) you shall finde the house-keepers generally projecting where to borrow and what to pawne, towards payments of their quarter's rents. . . . I must follow the steps of many an old letcherous citizen, and walke into London, where at the Exchange the only question that is ask't is, what newes? from Yorke, Ireland, and the Parliament. . . . From hence I travell to Guildhall, where I finde the Lawyers complaining of infinite numbers of Banckerouts. . . . Then at the halls of every severall company, where in former times all the elements could scarce afford variety to please the ingenuous gluttony of one single feast, now you shall heare the meaner sort of tradesmen cursing those devouring foxes, the masters and wardens, for the infinite charge their insatiate stomackes do put them to; from hence goe to their particular shops, where there is nothing amongst the tradesmen but condoling the want of the courtiers' money."

It was the year when London decided to stand out against the tyranny of the king and to look up to Parliament in a new fashion. The pamphleteer turns attention to the petty aspects of the new situation, and his observations help us to realise the conditions then prevailing. But they must be read by the light of other and more serious conditions if we want to get at the complete story. It is not only what the individual citizen was thinking and doing, but what the corporate citizenship was doing. This was decisive and clear, and there exists a most admirable description in a private letter in Lord Montagu of Beaulieu's collection of manuscripts in connection with the arrest of the five members by King Charles I. The letter is dated 7th January 1642, and refers to events



London and Southwark from Whitehall about 1650.


S. Marie Ouer's in Southwarke
London
1647

ST. MARY OVERY (now St. Saviour's) CHURCH, Southwark, in 1647

From an engraving by Hollar.

which took place on 4th January. I quote only the portions affecting the city.

"The Commons voted that they conceived that there was need that the city be put in a defensive posture, and thereupon the Common Council voted it, and sent order for preparation through the city, and chose a committee to consider of further defence, and resolved upon another Common Council on Wednesday. Wednesday they met in Guildhall, and there being awhile set, the King came and divers of his lords, and there to the Common Council made a speech, to the purpose that he went in the way of arms to the Commons' House the day before for fear of the multitude, who had not been there of five days before, and said further that he would have the six men, but they should have fair trial, let them have a fair charge first. Then he said he would throw down popery (witness the Jesuits that are condemned and reprieved), and lastly, he would have the government as formerly in the Church, for the better suppressing Brownists and Separatists, and that he would not endure them. Then he went to Alderman Garett's, the now Sheriff, to dinner, and when he went back, the Lord Mayor came to wait upon his Majesty, and after the King was gone, the citizens' wivws fell upon the Lord Mayor, and pulled his chain from his neck, and called him traitor to the city, and to the liberties of it, and had like to have torn both him and the Recorder in pieces. The Common Council resolved upon a petition to the King, in which they fly high as to the breach of privilege of Parliament. The Commons adjourned to Guildhall to Tuesday next, and there, as a committee, intend to draw up a charge against such as have broke privilege of Parliament, and if the Attorney-General look not to it, I believe he will 'truss.' They will not spare the Queen, and more, they will resolve to conclude of a guard, and if not granted they will spare no more, but to their defence, and all contrive so as that the Kingdom may be preserved, and mind no more the way formerly gone in. The King had the worst day in London yesterday that ever he had, the people crying 'privilege of Parliament' [by] thousands, and prayed God to turn the heart of the King, shutting up all their shops, and standing at their doors with swords and halberds."[1]

This is a story which might be envied by even Plantagenet London. London stood for the nation, not for the Stuart conception of the kingship. It had not in the past had to deal with a king divinely ordained. It was not going to recognise the new-founded idea even under the fascination of the Stuart charm of princely bearing. There existed a London tradition older by far than the newly evolved divinity of kingship, and that this tradition lay at the back of the significant action just described is almost certain.

The Commons meeting in the Guildhall as a Committee is the central fact of these events. Westminster had been its home, was indeed built for its home at the time when London was deemed to be too powerful in her independence to be trusted with so great an arm of the state. For protection against the encroachment of the personal sovereign the Commons now gladly turned to the city. We learn something of the character of the association thus set up from a letter of 1641–2. In that year the House of Commons sat in the Guildhall, and it declared that "unless the King will afford them a guard of their own choice under the command and direction of the Earl of Essex their intention is to adjourn themselves thither totally."[1] The city and the state are seen here in the closest relationship, and we shall have occasion later on to compare this position with another position when the House of Commons had definitely won its way into the sovereignty of the nation.

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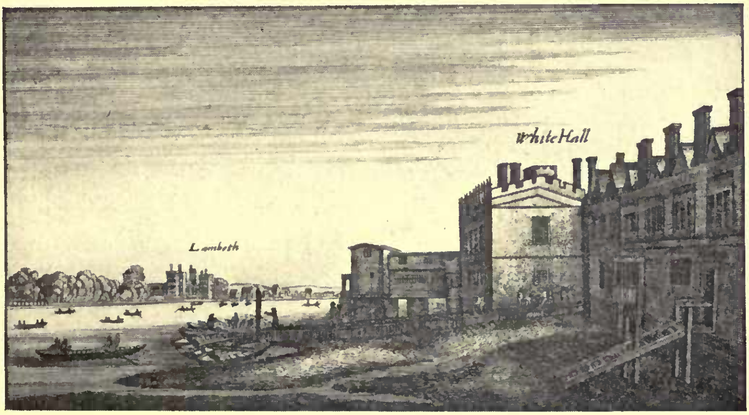
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu*, p. 141.



Lambeth and Whitehall about 1650.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (ii.), p. 302.

Interwedged in Stuart London is Commonwealth London—a London which is marked by at least one significant act belonging to the evolution of London from a great city of the past. This act has already been located. It shows London in arms—not a maddened city gathering up its weapons to meet a sudden emergency only to lay them down when it had been cowed into obedience, but a city organised for war as it was organised for peace, the organisation for both purposes being separate parts of one city system. This point must not be lost sight of. London was once again a city in arms as well as a city in peace. The men who guided it in peace were the same men as those who led it in war. The men who stood to arms were the citizens, not the riff-raff of the city, not the hired soldiers of the city. The whole spectacle is mediæval, not of the Commonwealth; it is mediæval as a descendant from the London of Anglo-Saxon times; it is Anglo-Saxon because it came from the Roman Londinium. Mr Sharpe describes the situation from the city archives. Each alderman was directed "to see that the train bands, 6000 strong, were fully equipt without the necessity of borrowing arms from the city halls or elsewhere; a double watch with halberds and muskets was ordered to be kept in each ward by night and day, and members of the Common Council were forbidden to leave their wards without permission."[1] Nothing could be more precise. Aldermen and common councillors were, on the emergency, citizens in arms. And so, when the Londoners, in 1643, marched out as an armed city to defend themselves and their institutions on the field of Newbury, they were doing precisely what their predecessors under Ansgar the Sheriff had done at Hastings, and what still earlier predecessors had done at Crayford. There is no act in all London history so significant of continuity as this great act of Commonwealth London. It is historical in the deepest sense of the word history.[1]

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[1] Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 159.

That the continuity has been very nearly broken does not alter this position. The facts of the Commonwealth have to be measured by the facts of the nearest precedent, and this is found in the array of the city at Mile End under Henry VIII., which has been already described. Here it is the city in its military form, and nothing but the city. Under the Commonwealth it was not only the city—it was the city with additions. The additions are, of course, due to the purely military considerations which the generals of the Commonwealth army demanded. The city in its military aspect, even in its partial military aspect, was due to historical precedent. When it mustered in Finsbury field in September 1643, the regiments were not assemblies of the wards, but units of Essex's great army. They were, however, captained by merchants or large shopkeepers, citizens of London. Outside London there is nothing of this kind. The Puritan gentry captained the Puritan army. London, however, was led to the field and fought there on the old principle—the men who led the citizens in constitutional matters in times of peace led them also in times of struggle. The break in the actual line of continued action from the Henry VIII. precedent shows up in stronger form the strength of the city position as a city in arms under the Commonwealth, and the whole incident finds its place easily in the series of events which belong to the unity of London through the ages.

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[1] See Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 195.

Not even in these tumultuous proceedings did London assume the position of a revolutionary city. She acted constitutionally during a revolutionary period, but, unlike Paris, she did not head the revolution nor drive it to a maddened excess. She stood by to see the supreme act carried through, not within her own walls but on the ancient government site at Westminster. Her citizens no doubt formed up outside the phalanx of Ironsides to help in the great act. They witnessed the pitiful and heroic figure walking with dignity through the royal park from his royal palace at St James to his royal palace at Whitehall, there to meet his doom. A man, an artist, a soldier, a king, a king divinely appointed to govern, walked there on his way to meet the God whom he worshipped. And England had decided to deal with him as it had dealt with his grandmother—two Stuarts given this deadly lesson of the liberty of

English folk, and yet they could not learn it. The occasion was great, the acts were great, and London endorsed what was being done by the leaders of English policy. But her part was not that of the revolutionist city, and here, if anywhere, she would have assumed such a part. It was the greatness of her historical and traditional position which helped her in this crisis as in all others.

We turn to other phases of the same question arising out of later events. Under the Commonwealth the city and the Commons House of Parliament had very close connections, not always of a friendly nature, and at almost every point we find city institutions being put to their traditional use,[1] and the Common Hall once more claimed by the citizens as the right place to discuss the situation. Under James II., ablest and most wrong-headed of the Stuart kings, we have yet another aspect of the same question. He understood the position of London well enough, and that his understanding extended to its ancient relationship to the sovereign power is remarkably evident from his own letters. When he was Duke of York, and in Edinburgh, he writes on 11th December 1679 to his confidant, Colonel Legge: "You see all things are running on to a commonwealth, and if care be not taken, the Citty will be irrecoverably lost and his Majesty authority brought so very low as not to be recovered." And again on Christmas Day following: "If great care be not taken of the Citty, there may be great danger from thence, for I know some go about to perswade the Citty to sett up a republike, flattring them that then they will and ought to gouerne the whole nation."[1] Here is the old point once more repeated. It is only now in the fears of the Court and in the mind of a prince, heir to the throne. There was perhaps no real force in it, but the point for us to note is the preservation of the ancient city tradition, which I think is contained in such a record as this. The prince's fears were founded on the city's record of its views.

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[1] Mr Sharpe relates the events of this period with great clearness from the Journals of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons, *London and the Kingdom*, vol. ii. pp. 281–288.

Confirmation of this view is found in a more direct note, arising out of an incident which occurred two years later. It relates to an "affaire which was brought before the Common Council yesterday [20th June 1681], that with some difficulty were brought to submitt to the King's conditions. Some debates happened which were not expected, and 'tis said the persons making them were corrupted, or at least withdrawne from their owne principles. But in the conclusion the difference was 104 to 86, besides the Aldermen in the Pole. So that now 'tis concluded that the King of England is likewise King of London."[2] This remarkable allusion to the ancient conception of a king of London may be the merest accident, but

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi. (v.) pp. 40, 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, xii. (v.) p. 55.

I would suggest that it may also have emanated from the debate in the Common Council. These sort of things are almost formulæ; they cannot be said by the Londoners of the twelfth century, and repeated by those of the seventeenth century, unless the common expression is founded upon the common idea. London remembered her ancient lordship, and that it should burst forth amidst the disturbing facts of later ages cannot be surprising to those who have followed the evidence for such a possibility in these pages. The point is, of course, not clear. We have not got a report of that debate in the Common Council, but with "ancient custom" ringing in our ears throughout the ages, with continuity not quite dying out even in Tudor and Stuart times, with obstinate resistance to the king's conditions only to be overcome by corruption, with principles definitely abandoned as the price of corruption, there is enough in this singular revival of the old expression to suggest that it is a revival also of the old formula, and all that the formula included. The citizens who had taught even Plantagenet kings to fear the community of London, and who had resisted John with the cry that they would have no king but their mayor, had done so in obedience to rules which had continued from previous days. The citizens who held out against James—eighty-six of them—equally well understood the historic position of London. There is the same combination of factors in both cases—fear of the city's power, reference to the kingship of London—

and the combination shows what perhaps either one of the single factors could not show, namely, that the city is once more expressing itself in terms of its traditional position.

This is the last time we shall hear, even in formula, of the King of London. It is in truth the last time when the title would have been appropriate. The kingship was thereafter to give way to a new form of sovereignty in which the Commons House of Parliament was the dominant power, and it is part of the argument for the traditional origin of this famous expression when James II. was king that the city acted towards Parliament in these later days in precisely the same spirit as they had acted towards the king. We have already noted one phase of the altered position of the House of Commons in the sovereignty of the realm in its relation to London. In due course we shall have to deal with another phase, when city and Commons are again in close touch, though not friendliwise. The position in all the phases of Stuart London is extraordinarily interesting. It carries on the continuity of events under new conditions, but with the old formulæ. It is, moreover, not the last link in the chain of continuity. It hands on the London position to yet another stage. As a connecting link instead of an ending to the long chain the Stuart evidence gains added weight, and does not allow of the criticism that it is the product only of unique circumstances and does not stand in relationship to previous and after events. It strengthens the claim of the James II. formula to take its place in the series which has been brought down from the earliest times before historical record had begun.

We follow up this point by another of very considerable importance. A great and drastic change was determined upon, probably as a result of the king's insight into the position of the city. The change came gradually, however surely, and it has to be noted from documents selected from a vast mass of material. One such document refers to events in 1682. On 30th October Sir William Richard, "a brave Tory," was sworn Lord Mayor of London at Westminster. "The king did not dine in the city, the Commons having refused to contribute to his entertainment as was usual, laying all the charge on the Lord Mayor. They begin to lay their actions already on the last Lord Mayor, but the king as a signal of his good service has promised to make him a baron."[1] This is, of course, only a signal of what was to come. Fortunately when it came we have a note of the debate in the Common Council, one of those glimpses of reality which would have been priceless in the case just dealt with. A letter dated 4th October 1683 from Whitehall relates that "on Tuesday there was a Common Council in the city, which sat very late, and the question of surrendering up their charter being put, it was carried in the negative by near eighty voices; this was matter of great triumph to the Whigs, who upon this occasion shewed themselves in as great numbers and as insolent as they have done any time these three years, and to add to their insolence would have had Sir James Edwards and some of the King's best friends to carry up the result of the Common Council to His Majesty, but that those gentlemen had courage and loyalty enough to refuse them." The city, however, did not gain its end. The letter goes on to say, "Next morning, that is yesterday, His Majesty ordered Mr Attorney General to enter up the judgment which was given last term against the charter, which was done accordingly, and this day His Majesty in Council was pleased to cause the same Lord Mayor to be new sworn, with the title by commission, as also the two Sheriffs and a new Recorder. The city is now to be governed by the Lord Mayor, two sheriffs, recorder, and such Justices of the Peace as my Lord Keeper shall think fit."[1] There was a gleeful chuckling amongst the courtiers at Whitehall at this destruction of the city government. One of them, Sir L. Jenkins, writing to Lord Dartmouth on 8th October in that year, says: "I hope when you come home you will find his Majesty in so much the more ease and repose that his great city is governed by his own commissions. Sir William Pritchard acts, indeed, as Lord Mayor, but it is by the King's commission, which he received in the council, and took his oath of Mayor there on

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com., Egmont MSS.*, ii. 120.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vii. p. 366.

Thursday last. The sheriffs elect (Daniel and Dashwood) act as other sheriffs in the counties by commission. Mr Genner is recorder by commission, the 18 honest aldermen have commissions to be justices of the peace, and now (as I am writing) they are sitting very gravely at the Quarter Sessions at the Old Bailey instead of the 8 whigs that make up the 26 aldermen. There are 8 commoners (such as Buckwith, Newland, Bathurst) chosen by the King to be over the vacant wards."[1] The city was thus placed entirely in the king's hands. Even the privilege of being a Livery Company was suspended and determined, and not till 1685 were the Companies granted liveries *de novo*, with a provision in the charters that His Majesty may by order in Council from time to time displace or remove the masters, wardens, and assistants of the several companies.[2] We know the beginning of the shameful story as it is told by John Evelyn—the seizure of the charter by the king, and its regrant to the city, when both king and city played the sorriest parts in the great drama of London history.[3] We gather the disastrous results from another source. In 1688 the gathering storm against the king produced a late repentance. In October of that fateful year the king, "at the Council or Cabinet Council, told the old aldermen that he would restore the charter of London, for which the bells rang that night and bonfires were made here, and having this day (4 Oct.) sent my Lord Chancellor to the Guildhall with an instrument under the broad seal by virtue of which he dissolved the present government of the city and turned out the Lord Mayor, Sir John Eyles, and all the new aldermen, when my Lord called on Sir William Pritchard to be Lord Mayor and all the old aldermen to take their places. Sir William Pritchard, after six hours disputing the matter, absolutely refused to be Lord Mayor. As my lord Chancellor came into the city he was huzza'd in the streets as his coaches came along and in the Guildhall, all which I saw, and it is not hard to guess what a strange alteration this has made, there being now no Lord Mayor nor aldermen."[1] There is nothing more disastrous to London in all her records than this.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.,* xi. (v.) p. 95.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com.* (House of Lords MSS.), xii. (vi.) pp. 292–293.

[3] I have related this in my *Making of London*, p. 208.

Everything institutional, however, had not slipped away from London. There are instances of continuity of custom, on the ceremonial side, which tell for better things than this, which tell for the view already advanced as to the preservation in the citizen mind of the ancient traditions of the city. I will quote one good instance. "The Lord Mayor being invited by the Reader of the Inner Temple to his feast (9th March 1668–9), the gentlemen took offence at the sword being carried up within the precincts, and would not suffer him to proceed. He betook himself to Mr Philippe's chamber and there was obliged to stay all day. The Recorder and sheriffs related this dispute to the King in Council, who sent a clerk in his name to command them to forbear further disorder, but that little prevailed. At last the Lord Chamberlain was sent to find some expedient for the matter. The issue was that the Lord Mayor returned without any dinner about seven at night with his sword up, but by a back way through Ram Alley."[1] This story is quaint enough, but not only is it the continuance in Jacobean London of city rights fought for in earlier times, but it was a struggle shared in by the whole city. The city, we are told in the same correspondence, "so much resents the late affront done to the Lord Mayor that I hear there is a guard of three hundred men placed about the Temple to secure it from the rage of the apprentices, who otherwise, it is thought, would pull it down to the ground." The city's rights were still of moment to the citizens, all unconscious as they were that this right had probably descended from Roman times.[2]

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi. (v.) pp. 143–4.

We now come to the problem presented by the expansion of London, which under the Tudors played so important a part in London history. Under the Stuarts it assumed a still more important position. It reveals the same two significant phases, the crippling of city jurisdiction within the city area and the entire want of jurisdiction outside the city.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (vii.) pp. 62, 63.

[2] The interesting and archaic custom of the sword being carried point upwards is discussed in my *Index of Municipal Offices*, pp. 17–19, and I have not much to alter in the opinions there expressed.

The beginning of Stuart action was undoubtedly for good. King James was possessed of some sort of an ideal. In a proclamation issued by James I. in 1604 he forbade the erection of any new house in the city of London, or within one mile thereof, "except all the utter wals and windowes thereof, and the forefront of the same, be wholly made of bricke, or bricke and stone." Also the forefront of the new building was to be of a prescribed uniform "order and forme," according to the street in which it was situated. Similar proclamations were issued in 1607 and 1608. None of them, however, appears to have had much effect, and in 1615, irritated at the little success which had attended his efforts, the king issued a further proclamation, in which he announced his intention, "now and hereafter, to leave words, and to act and execute Our Princely ordinances on that behalfe, and not to make discourse or recitall of them." The provisions of the former proclamations were confirmed, and the hope was expressed that "as it was said by the first emperor of Rome, that he had found the city of Rome of bricke, and left it of marble, so that Wee, whom God hath honoured to be the first king of Great Britaine, mought bee able to say in some proportion, that Wee had found Our citie and suburbs of London of stickes, and left them of bricke, being a materiall farre more durable, safe from fire, beautifull and magnificent." These are brave words, and they indicate brave hopes—hopes that in Stuart hands were never encouraged to fruition.

Five years later a proclamation of a much more comprehensive character was issued. The district affected was extended to five miles from the city gates. Not only was the requirement to build in brick or stone repeated, but minute regulations were laid down as to number and height of storeys, building materials, thickness of walls, size of windows, and a number of other details, and it was provided that all walls should be built straight upwards without "jutties, or jutting or cant windowes." Edicts of similar purport, but only applying to a distance of three miles from the city gates or the Palace of Westminster, were issued by Charles I. in 1625 and 1630. In 1656 the question was for the first time dealt with by the legislature, the Commonwealth Parliament in that year including in their Act "for the preventing of the multiplicity of buildings in and about the suburbs of London, and within ten miles thereof," provisions dealing with the use of stone and brick, and the building of walls straight up.

The indications which these proclamations supply were not carried out in any one aspect. A passage in one of the Chamberlain letters a few months before the death of Queen Elizabeth (27th June 1602) exhibits an extraordinary policy in operation. "The Council have lately spied a great inconvenience of the increase of housing within and without

London, by building over stables, in gardens, and other odd corners, where upon they have taken order to have them pulled down; and this week they have begun almost in every parish to light on the inhabitants, here and there one, which, God knows, is far from removing the mischief."[1]

Again, in 1615, when, chiefly for the purpose of recruiting the royal exchequer, these arbitrary proclamations were rigorously put in force, the same writer says: "But the inquiry after New Buildings within seven miles of the town, since the King's coming-in, goes on amain, and last week the whole Council, from the highest to the lowest, brought down a Commission, and sat at Guildhall about it. If they should proceed with rigour and extremity, they might raise a great mass of money, as is thought, but it would cause much murmur and complaint." And that it was persevered in appears from another passage in the following month, when Chamberlain writes: "All manner of projects are still on foot, but the New Buildings bring in most profit."[2]

An historian of that reign, Arthur Wilson,[3] describes the consequences of this policy to have been that "many men laid out their whole estates upon little hovels; or, not well heeding the Proclamation, and building fair houses upon new foundations, though it were but two yards from the old, became trespassers, and were obliged either to purchase their houses at a dear rate or pull them down—both ways tending to their ruin."

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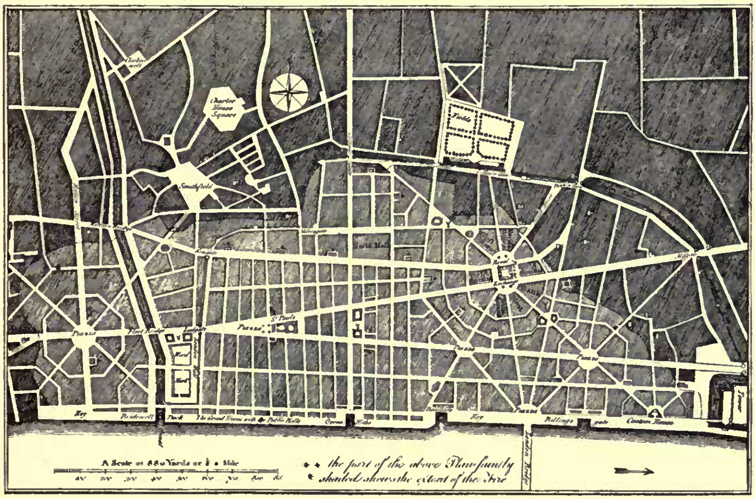
[1] Nichol's *Progresses, etc., of Queen Elizabeth,* vol. iii. p. 578.

[2] Nichol's *Progresses, etc., of King James I.,* vol. iii. pp. 92, 93.

[3] *Hist. of Great Britain,* 1653, fol.

The shame of this state of things is lasting. It is too great for remedy, and by it the city was deprived of a chance to be greater than it had ever been. A still greater chance came later, and the city did not rise to it. The calamity of the great fire might have been turned to the benefit of London during succeeding ages, for Sir Christopher Wren was at hand to direct public thought towards a great ideal. There can be no doubt the king supported him. An order of the king in Council was issued on 21st September 1666 concerning the form of the new buildings, which are to be of brick and stone, with a quay all along


Charter House Square
Smithfield
Guild Hall
St Pauls
Fleet Bridge
Piazza
Royal Exchange
Key
Bridewell
Dock
The Grand Terras with the Publick Halls
Key
Billings gate
Custom House
Tower
London Bridge
A Scale of 880 Yards or ½ a Mile
the part of the above Plan faintly shaded shews the extent of the Fire

Sir Christopher Wren's plan for rebuilding London after the fire in 1666.

the riverside;[1] and in the building of St Paul's a newsletter of 10th November 1672 relates that "he caused a most curious model to be made by his surveyor, Dr Wren, which he has been pleased to approve and order to be done according to it. It is rather bigger than the old foundation, and will be an incomparable piece of work."[2] This, fortunately, was quite true, and on 18th May 1675 the king ordered the building "to be begun out of hand, and that they build a quire first, and so as the revenue shall come in to proceed on other parts according to the model now approved on by him." The touch of definiteness here is a really great act—the building is to be begun out of hand, and we possess it now, one of the architectural glories of the country. St Paul's, however, was the centre of a new London, and Wren thought to make the surroundings equal to the centre. He could not make headway with the competition for sites amidst the charred ruins of the city. In 1667 it is reported that "they are laying foundations, especially in the great streets from Cornhill to Temple Bar, and there was great contest among the several parishes to preserve their own churches, to whose repairs those which are to be pulled down must contribute."[3] The king would not give up amusing himself in St

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.,* xii. (vii.) p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 97, 119. It is curious to see Wren building St Paul's Cathedral and at the same time "disfurnishing" four or five places erected by "nonconformists of several persuasions" in and about the city. *Ibid.,* p. 71.

[3] *Ibid.,* (vii.) p. 47.

James's Park and his palace of Whitehall for one more touch of definiteness. His amusement, however, has conferred a lasting benefit upon London, namely, the acquisition and laying out of the Green Park, and there is again the touch of definite action. A news-letter of 21st May 1667 conveys the information that "His Majesty has given order for taking several adjacent fields into his park of St James's, namely, from the Lord Chancellor's new house all along Knightsbridge highway round the Physic Garden, and so to come in at Whitehall behind Goring House."[1]

Wren's town-planning scheme was a great effort. It remains as a London ideal—one of the many London ideals to which London has not responded. John Evelyn, too, had a scheme; and these two Londoners of the decadent age did their best for the city. Wren prefaces his description of the plan he proposed by saying that "some intelligent persons thought it highly requisite the city in restoration should rise with that beauty by the straightness and regularity of buildings and convenience for commerce, by the well disposing of streets and public places and the opening of wharfes, etc., which the excellent situation, wealth, and grandeur of the metropolis of England did justly deserve; in respect also of the rank she bore with all other trading cities of the world, of which, tho' she was before one of the richest in estate and dowry, yet unquestionably the least beautiful."[1] Evelyn entitled his plan, "London restored not to its pristine, but to a far greater beauty, commodiousness, and magnificence."[2] His plan was to use the rubbish resulting from the fire "to fill up, or at least to give a partial level to, some of the deepest vallies, holes, and more sudden declivities within the city, for instance, that from the Fleet to Ludgate."

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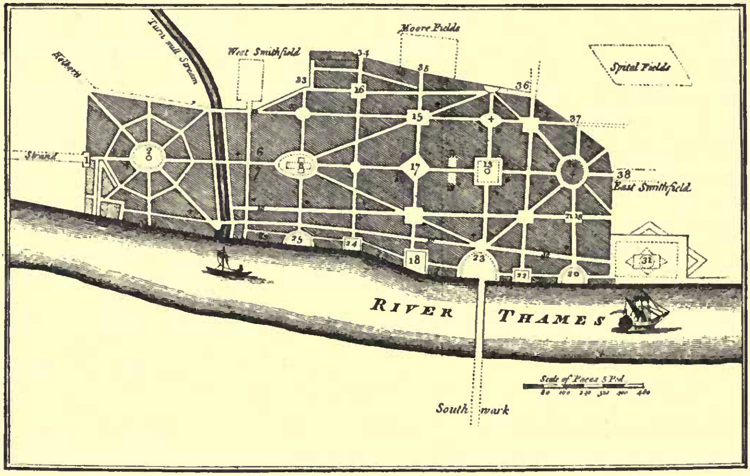
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.,* xii. (vii.) p. 48.


Moore Fields
West Smithfield
Turn mill Stream
Holborn
Spital Fields
Strand
East Smithfield
River Thames
South wark
Scale of Paces 5 Fed
80 160 240 320 400 480

John Evelyn's plan for rebuilding London after the fire in 1666.

It was all, however, fruitless. Pepys exactly describes the situation on 24th February 1667. "By and by comes Sir Robert Viner and my Lord Mayor to ask the King's directions about measuring out the streets according to the new Act for building of the

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[1] Wren, *Parentalia,* part ii. sect. ii. pp. 267–271. See Appendix VIII.

[2] Evelyn's plan is to be found in Maitland's *Hist. of London,* 1772, vol. i. p. 447.

City, wherein the King is to be pleased. But he says that the way proposed in Parliament by Colonel Birch would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them with preference to the old owner, which would have certainly caused the city to be built where these trustees pleased; whereas now great differences will be, and the streets built by fits and not entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way." "Streets built by fits and not entire" are bitter words from the diary of the great official of King Charles' day. They are applicable to the present-day London, and are in direct contrast to the spirit of the Act of 1667. This Act is literature as well as statute, and some of its clauses are valuable contributions towards the understanding of Stuart London. The preamble is as follows:—

"Forasmuch as the City of London, being the Imperial seat of his Majesty's Kingdoms, and renowned for trade and Commerce throughout the World; by reason of a most dreadful Fire lately happening therein, was for the most part thereof burnt down and destroyed within the Compass of a few Days, and now lies buried in its own Ruins: For the speedy Restauration whereof, and for the better Regulation, Uniformity, and Gracefulness of such new Buildings as shall be erected for Habitations in order thereunto; and to the End that great and outrageous Fires (through the Blessing of

Almighty God), so far forth as human Providence (with submission to the Divine Pleasure) can foresee, may be reasonably prevented or obviated for the Time to come, both by the Matter and Form of such Building: And further, to the Intent that all Encouragement and Expedition may be given unto, and all Impediments and Obstructions that may retard or protract the Undertaking or carrying on a Work so necessary, and of so great Honour and Importance to his Majesty and this Kingdom, and to the rest of his Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions, may be removed."

This is followed by some of the most important clauses ever contained in an Act of Parliament for local purposes.

"v. And, to the End that all Builders may the better know how to provide and fit their Materials for their several Buildings; be it enacted, That there shall be only Four Sorts of Buildings, and no more; and that all Manner of Houses so to be erected shall be one of these Four Sorts of Buildings, and no other; (that is to say), The first and least Sort of Houses fronting By-lanes; the Second Sort of Houses fronting Streets and Lanes of Note; the Third Sort of Houses fronting high and principal Streets; the Fourth and largest Sort of Mansion-houses for Citizens, or other Persons of extraordinary Quality, not fronting either of the three former Ways: And the Roofs of each of the said First Three Sorts of Houses respectively shall be uniform."

"VI. And for avoiding any Uncertainty to the Builders or others herein, be it further enacted, That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the said City for the Time being shall on or before the First Day of April next ensuing, declare which and how many shall hereafter be accounted and taken to be By-lanes, which and how many shall hereafter be deemed Streets or Lanes of Note, and high and principal Streets, by Act of Common Council to be passed for that Purpose. . . ."

. . . . . .

"XV. And be it further enacted, That if any Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, being seised, possessed, or interested, of or in any Ground which was formerly builded upon, and the Houses thereupon being now burned or pulled down at the Time of the late Fire, shall not within Three Years next ensuing build up the same; That then the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, by Act of Common Council, may cause Proclamation to be publickly made between the Hours of Twelve and Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, as well at or upon the said Ground, as also at or upon the publick Exchange of the said City, thereby to give Notice to all Persons that shall be or may be therein concerned, to cause the same to be rebuilded, according to the Direction of this present Act, within the Space of Nine months then next following: And in Case the Owners thereof, or other Person or Persons having Interest therein, shall refuse or neglect to rebuild the same, in Manner and within such Time as aforesaid, That then in such Case the said Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the said City are hereby authorised to issue out Warrants to the Sheriffs of London for the Time being, requiring them to impanel and return before them a Jury of good and lawful Men of the said City; which the said Sheriffs are hereby authorised and required to do accordingly; which Jury so returned shall, upon their Oaths, to be administered to them by the said Mayor and Court of Aldermen (who are likewise hereby authorised to administer the same), enquire, estimate, and assess, the true and just Value of such void Ground, according to their Judgements: And that from and after such Inquiry and Valuation thereof made as aforesaid, by Inquest of the said Jury, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the said City, to make Sale of the Fee or Inheritance thereof, by Conveyance under their Common Seal, to any Person or Persons that will purchase the same, at such Price at which the same shall have been so as aforesaid estimated and valued by the said Jury; and the Monies thereupon to be received of the Purchasers thereof shall be paid into the Chamber of London, and from thence to be issued out and paid by the Chamberlain of London for the Time being, unto such Persons who shall have any Estate or Interest into or out of the same, according to his or their respective Estate or Estates, Title or Interest: Which sale so made and inrolled of Record, according to the Custom or Usage of the said City for inrollment of Bargains and Sales, shall be final and conclusive of all other Persons whatsoever, and shall bar them, their Heirs and Assigns, to claim any Estate, Right, Title, or Interest of, in, or out of the Grounds so sold, precedent to the said Sale; and the Purchaser or Purchasers thereof, his and their Heirs and Assigns, shall and may, by Virtue of this Act, have, hold, and enjoy the same against all Persons claiming any Estate, Right, Title, or Interest into or out of the same, his and their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, freed and discharged of and from all Incumbrances in Estate, Title, Charge, or otherwise, precedent to the said Sale."

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"XXIII. And whereas many antient Streets and Passages within the said City and Liberties thereof, and amongst others those which are hereafter mentioned, were narrow and incommodious for Carriages and Passengers, and prejudicial to the Trade and Health of the Inhabitants, and are necessary to be inlarged as well for the Convenience as Ornament of the City, be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the said City for the Time being, in Common Council assembled, shall and may, and are hereby impowered and required to enlarge all and every the Streets and Places hereafter mentioned, where and in such Manner as there shall be Cause, by and with the Approbation of His Majesty, and not otherwise; that is to say, the Street called Fleet Street. . . ."

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"xxv. And to the End that reasonable Satisfaction may be given for all such Ground as shall be taken and employed for the Uses aforesaid; the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council shall and may treat and agree with the Owners and others interested therein; And if there shall be any Persons, Bodies Corporate or Collegiate, that shall wilfully refuse to treat and agree, as aforesaid, or through any Disability by Nonage, Coverture, or especial Entail, or other Impediment, cannot; that in such Cases the said Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen are hereby authorised, by virtue of this Act, to issue out a Warrant or Warrants to the Sheriffs of London, who are hereby required accordingly to impanel and return a Jury before the said Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen: Which Jury, upon their Oaths to be administered by the said Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, are to inquire and assess such Damage and Recompence as they shall judge fit to be awarded to the Owners, and others interested, according to their several and respective Interests and Estates of and in any such Houses or Ground, or any Part thereof, for their respective Interests and Estates in the same, as by the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, shall be adjudged fit to be converted for the Purposes aforesaid: and such Verdict of the Jury, and Judgement of the said Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen thereupon, and the Payment of the Sum or Sums of Money so awarded or adjudged to the Owners, and others having Estate or Interest, or Tender and Refusal thereof, shall be binding to all Intents and Purposes against the said Parties, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, and others claiming any Title or Interest in the said Houses or Ground, and shall be a full authority for the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, to cause the same to be converted and used for the Purposes aforesaid."

"XXVI. And forasmuch as the Houses now remaining, and to be rebuilt, will receive more or less Advantage in the Value of the Rents, by the Liberty of Air, and free Recourse for Trade, and other Conveniences by such Regulation and Inlargement; it is also enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case of Refusal or Incapacity, as aforesaid, of the Owners, or others interested of or in the said Houses, to agree and compound with the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons for the same, thereupon a Jury shall and may be impanneled in Manner and Form aforesaid, to judge and assess upon the Owners, and others interested of and in such Houses, such competent Sum and Sums of Money with respect to their several Interests, in Consideration of such

Improvement and Melioration, as in Reason and good Conscience they shall think fit: And all Sums of Money that shall be so assessed and raised as aforesaid, shall be paid to the Chamberlain of the City of London for the Time being, who is hereby enabled from Time to Time to receive and recover the same by Action at Law, and whose receipt shall be a good Discharge to such Owners, or others interested; and who is hereby appointed to receive and pay, and be accountable for the same according to such Directions as shall from Time to Time be given him by the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons: and the Money so raised shall be wholly imployed towards Payment and Satisfaction of such Houses and Grounds as shall be converted into Streets, Passages, Markets, and other publick Places aforesaid: And such Satisfaction so given, or tendered and refused, as aforesaid, shall divest the Propriety, Estate, and Interest of the respective Owners, and others having Interest of and in such Parcels of Ground so to be taken and imployed for the Uses aforesaid, by virtue of this Act: Which shall be and are hereby actually settled and invested in the said Lord Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of the City of London, and their Successors, in like Manner as other the common Streets and Highways within the said City."

This is a drastic measure. Owners cannot do as they like, and they must not delay the development of the city. It is well to know that such a measure could be obtained from a Stuart monarch and a Stuart

Parliament when necessity demanded, and it stands as a lesson to later ages. It is well to know also that Parliament contained a member whose scheme was more drastic and more comprehensive. London at that moment, in its ruined condition, was one great estate, and the scheme of Colonel Birch submitted to Parliament sought to have it rebuilt on this principle. If Parliament had only listened, owners and city would have benefited and the capital city would have been a great city.

The city authorities benefited their own property even if they neglected the city. This we learn from an interesting document preserved by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral. It is the "demise by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's to the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, of all that parte and soe much of the ground and soile of the foundacon of the old maine wall heretofore encompassing the churchyard of the said cathedral church of St Paul, London, as is hereinafter menconed, viz., from the gateway or passage leading out of the said churchyard into Cheapside westward unto Cannon Alley, between the several grounds and tenements belonging to the Lord Bishop of London and the said Deane and Chapter and others fronting south upon the said churchyard and the ground tenements of the said Mayor and Cominalty and Cittizens, fronting north upon Paternoster Rowe two hundred and seaventy foote of assize or thereabouts in length, and in breadth (the thicknesse of the said wall in the foundacon being) fowre foote of assize or thereabouts, and from Cannon Alley westward to St Paul's Alley more one hundred and seaventy foote in length, of the same breadth, the whole containing on that side one thousand seaven hundred and three score superficiall feete of assize be the same more or less. And also from the gateway or passage late called St Augustin's Gate, leading out of the said church yard into Watling Streete, northward to the house in the Old Chaunge in the occupacon of John Cobb or of his assignes or undertenants, in length forty foote of assize and two foote broad, and from another house in the old Chaunge adjoining to Cobb's on the north side and now in the occupacon of John Brattle, gentleman, or of his assignes or undertenants, northward to the freehold of Mr Myles Martyn, heretofore called Jesus Steeple, betweene the ground and tenements belonging to the said Mayor, Cominalty, and Cittizens, fronting east upon the old Chaunge and the schoole and schoolehouse and other tenements fronting west upon the said churchyard, in length one hundred fowrescore and two feete of assize and in breadth two feete, the whole contayning on that side fowre hundred forty and fowre superficiall feete of assize be the same more or less, which ground and soyle of the said wall hereby demised, being in the whole two thousand two hundred a fowre foote of assize or thereabouts, is intended for the enlargement or other accomodacon of the severall mesuages, houses, and tenements of the said Mayor, Cominalty, and Cittizens, in the old

Chaunge and in Paternoster Rowe aforesaid, which were burnt downe by the late dreadfull fire in London."[1]

This interesting document is of great moment, historically and topographically. We not only gather from it that the city did not lend itself to an enlarged planning of London, but we know from it how the walls enclosing St Paul's in mediæval days were dealt with after the fire. We were interested in the walls enclosing St Paul's in a former chapter, and we could from this document construct the plan of them on the ground as it exists to-day.

The city benefited very little by the great Act of Parliament, and outer London not at all. There the old story went on. People in their own interests were allowed to develop new building schemes in a most unexpected manner, and there are many contemporary documents to prove this. Thus in a petition of William Lord Monson, Peter de la Motte, and four other inhabitants of Covent Garden, to the Lords of the Privy Council against the proposal of one Brett, a chandler, to build twelve tenements between Covent Garden and Drury Lane, it is contended that these tenements, being in a blind and obscure place, will be fit only for poor and mean people, who will cause them much inconvenience; and they protest against "such pestering of multitudes of families and poore people together in such by-places to suffocate each other," urging that "it wilbe an evill example for all such other (more affected to their own private lucre than the publique good) to build and erect like tenements in every piece of ground or garden plott nere the said Covent Garden." These are admirable sentiments if they represent the true state of things, and in any case they indicate a view of the expansion of London which might have produced good results if it had been allowed to have its proper weight in the council.[1]

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, ix. pp. 58–59. The demise is for forty years at a yearly rent of £14, 4*s.* 0*d.*, and is dated 6th July 1670. This should be compared with the agreement of 1282, *ante*, p. 147.

There is, however, another side to the picture, and a record of the doings of the commissioners of sewers will give some idea of the sanitary condition of the city. In 1685–6, 27th January, it is reported by one of the commissioners that the commissioners "first sat at Hicks Hall to consider Turnmill Brook sewer, stopped by much filth thrown into it. They next kept sessions in Whitechapel, where they considered the sewer coming from Spitalfields, which runs almost four miles before it gets into the Thames, through Stepney town and close to the churchway which leads to Stepney church, and almost all the way open, and brings down a very noisome water, the Walloons and strangers there living much upon cabbage and roots, to the great offence of the inhabitants as to health and other ways."[2]

In the attempted rebuilding of the city under

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi. (vii.) p. 290. The document is undated, but it is of the seventeenth century.

[2] *Ibid.*, xi. (v.) p. 129.

James I. the city corporation is not allowed to be concerned. It was all His Majesty the King, the "Wee" of the Stuart kingship. It was the king's council who attempted to recruit the royal exchequer from the new buildings of London. It was the king who began the new St Paul's "out of hand." It was Parliament who settled the lines upon which rebuilding after the fire was to take place. It was the common council of the city who were to carry out the wishes of Parliament. It was a sewerage commission that tried to stem the difficulties of a polluted city. There is no common policy in all this activity and inactivity, and one begins to wonder what the ancient city, with all its ancient powers untouched, was doing. One thing is quite clear. The alternate action and inaction of the king and the king's court were quite disastrous to the ancient controlling powers of the city, which, even in connection with its most important functions as the home of city trade organisation, was beginning to feel the effect of unregulated expansion.

We take one example, a picturesque and a drastic case. A petition was addressed to Sir Martin Lumley Knight, lord mayor in 1623–4, by "divers young men free of the Goldsmiths' company, inhabitants of the Strand, stating that being established in an open and convenient place of ancient custom for Goldsmiths, and in the high street between the Court and the city, yet tendering their willing obedience to perform his Majesty's desire for the replenishing of the Goldsmiths Rows in Cheapside, and to express their love to the city and the company of which they were members, they had informed the wardens of their company, and they now intimated to his Lordship their willingness to undergo the losses, which were likely to be great, and remove to Cheapside, if some steps were taken that they might have the shops and houses of the Goldsmiths Rents now shut up or inhabited by others of meaner trades at the rates they were given to the company for the advancement of young men of the same."[1] This is the cry from the city to the expanding area beyond. Goldsmiths Row stood opposite the Cross in Cheapside, on the south side of the street. It was a superb pile of dwellings, extending from the west to Bread Street, and was erected in 1491. Stow describes it as "the most beautiful Frame of fayre houses and shoppes that bee within the Walles of London, or elsewhere in England, commonly called Goldsmithes Rowe, betwixt Bredstreet end and the Crosse in Cheape, but is within this Bredstreete warde; the same was builded by Thomas Wood, Goldsmith, one of the Sheriffes of London, in the yeare 1491. It contayneth in number tenne fayre dwelling houses, and foureteene shoppes, all in one Frame uniformely builded foure stories high, bewtified towardes the streete with the Goldsmithes Armes, and the likenes of Woodmen in memory of his name, riding on monstrous Beasts: all which is cast in Lead, richly painted over, and gilt."[2] To

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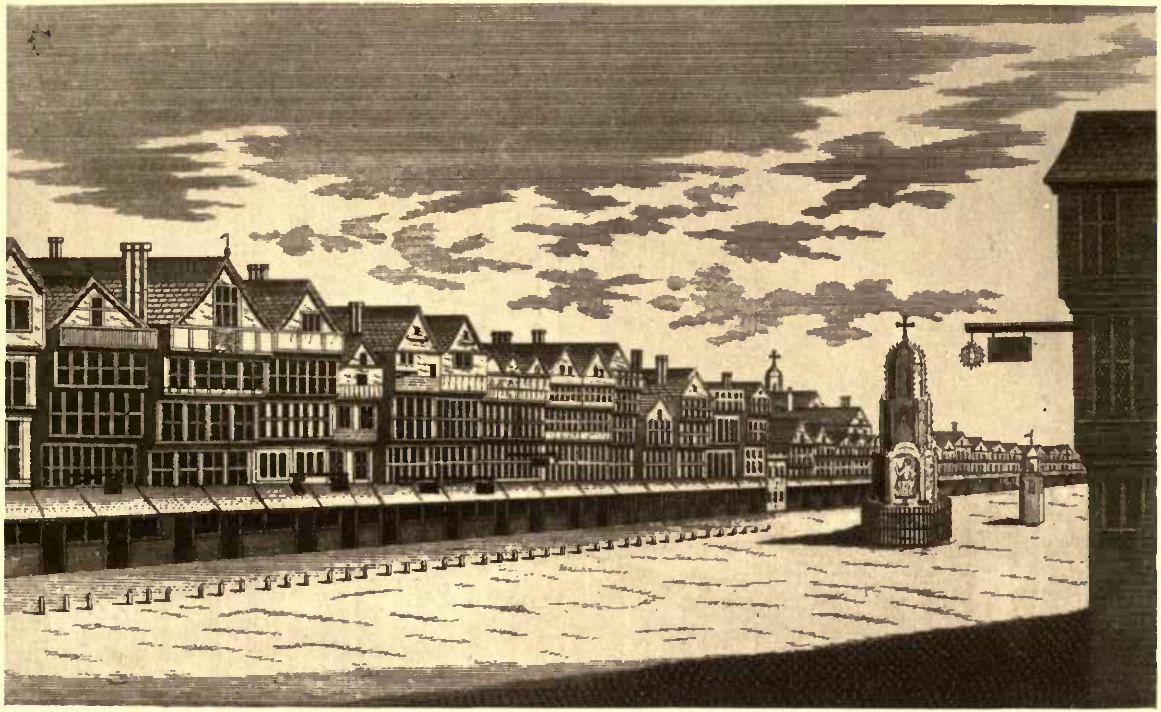
[1] *Remembrancia,* p. 106.

[2] Stow, *Survey* (edit. Kingsford), vol. i. p. 345.



CHEAPSIDE WITH THE CROSS IN 1660.

leave a place such as this shut up is to express in practical terms the change the city was undergoing by expansion. The king had to intervene. The governance of the trade gild was not strong enough. The "high street between the Court and the city" was the dominant factor in the case, and we see before us the insidious tapping of the ancient city foundations by its fatal inattention to the facts which were rapidly developing towards the building up of a London no longer to be contained between mediæval walls. The facts from one example can be repeated in example after example from city records, and they represent the dominant note of Stuart London. Nothing was sacred to the Stuart sovereign except the sovereignty, and it is curious to observe how the city was pitted against the claims of outer London instead of the anomalies being healed by constitutional reforms. Thus Mr Attorney General in his argument for the King against the City, dated 1st May 1683, insisted, *inter alia*, "particularly upon the great oppressions used by them towards His Majesty's subjects in exacting certain taxes from all that came to their markets which ought to be free, that by the same authority that they exacted £5000 per annum as was computed they might as lawfully exact £10,000 a year."[1] The argument was a good one, and it remains in being at the present moment. But the consequent action on the argument was never taken, and the one great opportunity of the city expanding to its proper limits, as it expanded physically, was not only lost but was deliberately set aside. The result was that the ancient traditional policy remaining within the city was confronted with the unformed policy arising without, and the historian from this stage onward has to deal with the dual position.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Egmont MSS.*, ii. 130.

It is not that Stuart London possessed no features upon which new conceptions of London could have been founded. Contemporary literature and correspondence is full of the glories of Stuart London. In the crown *Garland of Golden Roses*, first printed in 1612, and enlarged in 1659, there are verses which give us a picture of the Thames which can scarcely be imagined by the present generation. The verses occur only in the second edition, but it is fair to presume they represented the state of things in the earlier period. They occur in a ballad relating to the "lamentable fall of the great Duchess of Gloucester, the wife of Duke Humphrey," the celebrated Elinor Cobham:

> "Then flaunted I in Greenwich's stately towers,
> My winter's mansions and my summer's bowers;
> Which gallant house now since those days hath been
> The palace brave of many a king and queen.
>
> The silver Thames, that sweetly pleas'd mine eye,
> Procur'd me golden thoughts of majesty;
> The kind contents and murmur of the water
> Made me forget the woes that would come after."[1]

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[1] It is interesting to note the great frosts of this period. In 1608 "the Thames began to put on his freeze coat and hath kept it on till now, this latter end of January," and a description of it is printed in Arber's *English Garner*, vol. i. pp. 77–99.

In *The Glory of England*, 1618, London and Paris were thus contrasted:

"If I beginne not at first with too sullen or concise a question; more then the new gallery of the Louvre, and the suburbes of St Germanes, as it is now re-edified, what one thing is worthy obseruation or wonder within Paris; as for London, but that you will say my particular loue transporteth mee, it hath many specialities of note, eminence, and amazement; and for greatnes it selfe, I may well maintain, that if London and the places adioyning were circummunited in such an orbicular manner, it would equall Paris for all the riuers winding about, and the fine bridges sorting to an vniformity of streets; and as wee now behold it, the crosse of London is euery way longer then you can make in Paris, or any citie of Europe: but because peraduenture you will not vnderstand what I meane by this word *crosse*, it shall be thus explained, that from St Georges in Southwarke to Shoreditch South and North; and from Westminster to St Katherines or Ratcliff, West and East, is a crosse of streets, meeting at Leaden-Hall, euery way longer, with broad spaciousnesse, handsome monuments, illustrious gates, comely buildings, and admirable markets, then any you can make in Paris, or euer saw in other city, yea Constantinople itselfe.

"In London the Citizen liues in the best order with very few houses of Gentlemen interposed, and in our suburbs the Nobility haue so many and stately dwellings, that one side of the riuer may compare with the Gran Canale of Venice. But if you examine their receipt and capacity, Venice and all the cities of Europe must submit to the truth. Nay, in London and the places adioyning, you haue a thousand seuerall houses wherein I will lodge a thousand seuerall men with conueniency: match vs now if you can.

"In steed of ill fauoured woodden bridges, many times endangered with tempests and frosts, you haue in London such a bridge that, without ampliation of particulars, is the admirablest monument, and firmest erected structure in that kinde of the Vniuerse, whether you respect the foundation, with the continuall charge and orderly endeauours to keepe the arches substantiall, or examine the vpper buildings, being so many, and so beautifull houses, that it is a pleasure to beholde them, and a fulnesse of contentment to vnderstand their vses conferred vpon them."

A letter from John Evelyn, dated 14th February 1679–80, exists among the Ormonde papers. It takes us outside the city, and gives an interesting account of "Chelsey House." He regrets that his lordship rejects the opportunity "for the purchasing of that sweet place at Chelsey upon so easy terms. . . . I have formerly acquainted your lordship with the particulars, that beside a magnificent house capable of being made perfectly modish, the offices, gardens, and other accommodations for air, water, situation, vicinity to London, benefit of the river, and mediocrity of price are nowhere to be paralleled, I am sure, about this town or any that I know in England. There are with it to be added as many orange trees and other precious greens as are worth £500; the fruits of the gardens are exquisite; there is a snow house—in a word, I know of no place more capable of being made the envy of the noble retreats of the greatest persons near this Court and city." Then follow "particulars of Chelsey House: There belongs to Chelsey House sixteen acres of ground, with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England. The outhousing is very good, ample, and commodious, and all the offices supplied with excellent water. . . . For this particular, with the addition of all orange trees and other greens, fruit, and flowers of all kinds, with seats, rollers, tables, and all garden utensils; also within the house all fixed necessaries, as grates, chimney-pieces, and wainscot, the billiard table and a pair of marble tables and house clock, there will be paid £5000. Thus offered, 26th June 1679, by Sir Stephen Fox."[1]

In 1683 we have a delightful picture of London. "The Thames had been covered with ice since New Year's Day; it is now the common road to Westminster, both on foot and in coaches, and much better than the streets. One entire street of booths is built over to Southwark, and infinite numbers scattered up and down."[1]

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Ormonde Collection*, new ser., vol. v. pp. 279–80.

In 1691 a great fire occurred at Whitehall, and it is worth quoting contemporary newsletters giving particulars of this great disaster, typical perhaps of the end of Whitehall as the home of despotic sovereignty. On 11th April 1691 it is stated that "on Thursday between eight and nine o'clock at night a fire broke out in the uppermost part of that which was the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings at Whitehall, which before it could be extinguished consumed that and all the pile of buildings fronting the Privy Garden, stretching itself to the waterside almost to the Privy stairs, and burnt the lodgings of the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Portland, Devon, Monmouth, Overkirke, and others, occasioned as it is generally reported by the carelessness of a woman servant, who, burning a single candle off from a parcel, it enkindled the wick of the others to that degree that it set fire to the apartment. The sentinel gave an alarm by firing his musket, which being heard by

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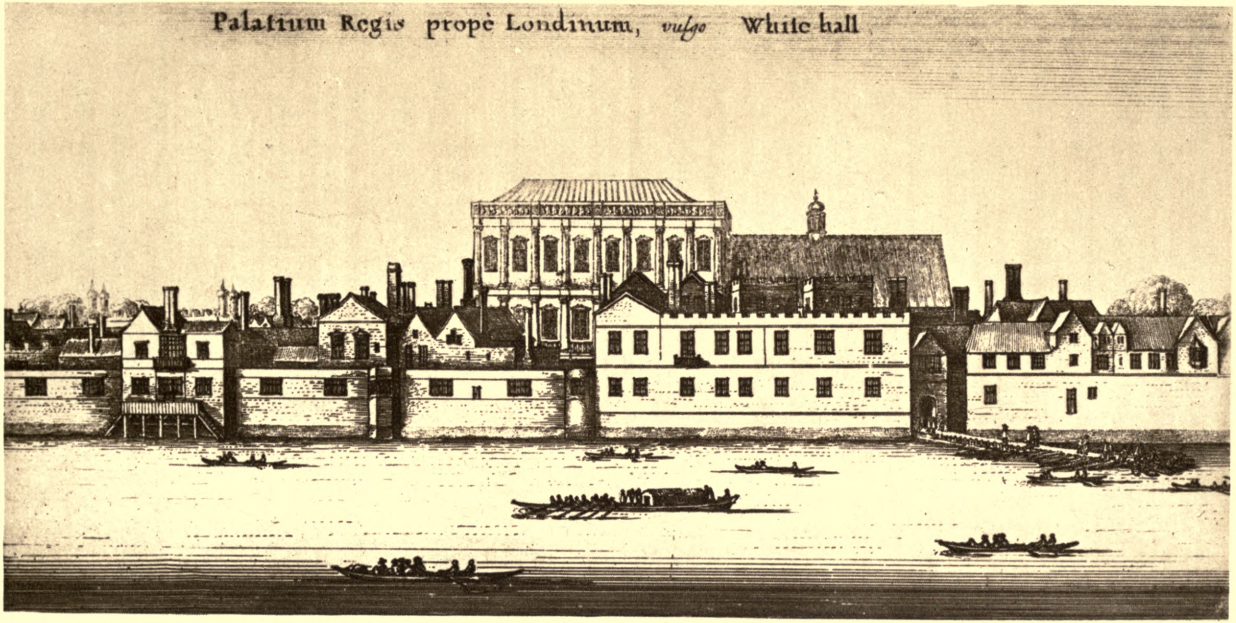
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (vii.) p. 193. In 1620 the situation had not been so cheerful. The Lords of the Council write to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen complaining of the impassable state of the streets. "Though the frost had continued nearly three weeks no steps had been taken for the removal of the ice and snow, and they required immediate order to be given for the remedy of the inconvenience. It was their intention upon any further neglect to address themselves to the aldermen of the several wards where such abuses and inconvenience should be found, and call them to a strict account for the same." *Remembrancia,* pp. 481–2.


Palatium Regis propè Londinum, vulgo White hall

WHITEHALL IN 1647.
From an engraving by Hollar.

the guard they came to extinguish it, shutting all the gates leading thereto. His Majesty was just at supper, and went forthwith with the Princess on foot to Arlington House." And then in 1697–8, January 6th, we have in a private letter information as to the second fire, the writer saying that he "was all the night until five in the morning in the Privy Gardens in apprehension for my lodgings on account of the fire at Whitehall. Almost all Whitehall is gone. It burnt very furiously. The Banqueting Hall and Lord Portland's lodgings is almost all that is saved."[1] This is all that we have now, and the famous home of the Stuarts thus passed away and allowed of the building of government offices, with here and there basements belonging to the former palace. St James's Palace was all that was left for royal residence in London, and from this circumstance the Court of St James became the official title of the English Court.

I have not been able to pay attention to the manufacturing industries of London, but there is one interesting feature of Stuart London which it is well to record. It is the weaving of tapestry, already noted as a mediæval industry. The Countess of Rutland was a patroness of the art, and a letter, 20th June 1670, describes the situation. The writer is unable "personally to attend my honoured Ladies commandes aboute her tapestry hangings. I shall cause both him att Mortlake and the other att

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xii. (vii.) pp. 325, 349.

Lambeth to attend you with theire patternes, the one with Hero and Leander, the latter with Vulcan and Venus, two of the best patternes now extant. . . . I doubt you will hardly gett Hero made under 25s. per ell to be well don. The other I presume will come for 23s. per ell. My Lady in hir letter speakes of Poynze, but take it of my credditt he hath not one good peice of painting or designe by him, besides a deare prateing fellow that knowes not what good worke is. With which of them soever you treate, contract with him not to putt any sleezy silke in the worke, for that will soone grow rough and sully much sooner than Naples." On 12th July there is "an agreement by William Benood of Lambeth, tapisheere, for making six pieces of tapistry, 9 feet deep, from the design of Vulcan and Venus." Belvoir Castle contained many examples of tapestry before this addition was made, and the inventory of 1667 includes eight pieces of tapestry of the story of Alexander in the great chamber, three pieces of "Mortlake hangings" of the Apostles in the best lodging, and eight pieces of the same hangings in my lady's chamber.[1] These are pleasant recollections. Lambeth has now lost this great industry, and Mortlake retains only an inscription on the house where it was carried on (see Appendix IX.).

Have we then from this conglomerate of contemporary records succeeded in describing the true position of Stuart London in connection with the previous ages of London? I think we have. It is disjointed evidence coming from a disjointed London. Nowhere do we find London doing anything greater than living on its past. Tudor London was disrupted by entirely new views, and to a large extent it lived on these views. They were great and expansive views. Stuart London possessed no new views, no discoverable views at all. All seems a patchwork made up of a want of conception both in the city itself and in Parliament. The city did well when it put ancient machinery into operation. It did ill by not extending the use of this machinery to meet the new conditions. Perhaps it could not trust Whitehall at its very gates, and therefore wrapped itself in as much of its ancient rules and practices as it could keep going. At all events, we know that Whitehall did not trust the city, and we have in this mutual mistrust the principal cause of the estrangement between London within the walls and the growing London without. The remarkable thing is that we have been able to detect amidst the strife of things so momentous as those which happened to Stuart London, elements which seem to enable us once more to pick up the line of continuity—in formulæ if not in essence. The presence of the formulæ, however, may prove of greater significance than we think, if only it can be shown to contain two correlative elements—if it shows that the formulæ used by the Stuart Court were derived from the principles resident in the minds of the citizens in common council assembled; if it leads up to something more than formulæ when the great occasion once more arises. It is as connecting links with the future that these formulæ, if they be formulæ, will prove to have retained the spark of life.

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.,* xii. (v.) pp. 18, 20, 347.

CHAPTER X

CHANGES AND REVIVAL

THERE are several events which make it certain that Georgian London was distinct from Tudor and Stuart London in many ways. In the first place, it was not worried so much by the sovereign. Secondly, it turned to its own municipal affairs with something of its old spirit. It turned back to much of its own municipalism. Its actions may reveal fitfulness and inconsistency, but the underlying principle of its actions was neither fitful nor inconsistent in its application. Once more, under the Georges, London is a London to be loved. We did not trust Tudor London. We perhaps despised Stuart London. Though there is much in Georgian London which tells of a further break-up of history and tradition, though there is no effort to bring London to an accepted position as the capital city, though there are a thousand and one blots by which to estimate the might-have-been—there is still much to remind us of the older London. Once again we come upon a period not devoted to the ideal of London as history unfolds it, but containing a strong reference back to ancient ideals. Once again we come upon a period when municipalism is strong, though upon narrow lines. Once again we are in the presence of the problem of expansion, though it appears in a more attractive form. Indeed, Georgian London, in the midst of the destruction of its buildings, is an attractive London.

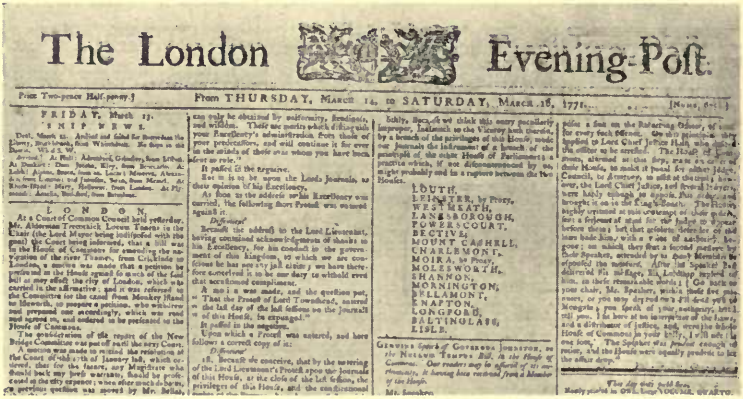
We have seen London taking a prominent position in relation to the sovereign. We have seen it acting in support of the House of Commons just when the Commons were definitely entering into its place in the sovereignty of the realm. We are now to see it take a prominent position in relation to Parliament, or rather to the House of Commons. The two positions are part of the same original. London, always associated constitutionally with the sovereign power, comes into touch with Parliament when the sovereign power became resident more in Parliament than in the personal sovereign. This appears to be a remarkable fact by itself, but it becomes still more remarkable when we consider the terms in which it is conveyed and the conscious expression of a continuation from older and similar conditions.

We cannot, of course, give the entire story, but the chief points are quite sufficient. First of all, the historical sequence is worth noting. London acted almost independently of the Anglo-Saxon kings; exercised prominent constitutional powers during the Norman and Plantagenet rule; neglected this position under the Tudors, and, in form at all events, revived it, as we have seen, during the Stuart reign. London also, as we have seen, afforded shelter to the House of Commons at the moment when it was being attacked by the monarch to prevent it from taking its independent position in the sovereignty of the nation. We thus see the continuity of the central idea of a special position assumed by and allowed to London towards the state, changing the character of its expression as the state developed.

In this continuity will be found the true significance of the action of London towards the Georgian Parliament. It was expressed in 1761 by Horace Walpole, who protested against the Common Council presuming to "usurp the right of making peace and war." The Common Council, "as was its wont," we are told by Dr Sharpe, drew up instructions for the city members as to the policy they were to pursue in the Parliament of 1762. They were, among other things, to obtain the repeal of a recent Act for the relief of insolvent debtors, and to keep a sharp eye on "the distribution of the national treasure." These are extraordinary not ordinary city functions, and that they find expressions as ordinary acts is a significant factor. The well-known John Wilkes episodes provide an all-important formula for such transactions. The sheriffs were called upon by the House of Lords to explain their action at the public burning of the famous No. 45 of the *North Briton*, edited by Wilkes, and the Duke of Bedford stated the case in the following terms: "Such behaviour in any smaller town would have forfeited their franchises. The Common Council had long been setting themselves up against Parliament." This is precisely the evidence which is required to support the historic view of this great transaction. London alone, not any other city, could take up such a line of action, and it is because London alone possessed the historic sense of the situation, founded upon the historic continuity of events. Wilkes had been arrested on a general warrant, and the Common Council, on 21st February 1764, passed a vote of thanks to their members for their endeavour to obtain a parliamentary declaration as to the illegality of general warrants, and voted to Pratt, chief justice of the Common Pleas, who had pronounced the arrest to be illegal, the freedom of the city. The chief justice, in acknowledging the compliment, referred to the city as "the most respectable body in the kingdom after the two Houses of Parliament." Wilkes struggled on against his expulsion from Parliament after his election for Middlesex, and the city supported his claim, the freeholders of Middlesex meeting at Mile End and there resolving to stand by the representative of their choice. Wilkes was returned a fourth time as member of Parliament for Middlesex, and was rejected by the House of Commons. This act called up the city once again, and the lord mayor was called upon to summon a Common Hall, "for the purpose of taking the sense of the livery of London on the measures proper to be pursued by them in the present alarming situation of public affairs." The lord mayor declined, but the livery had their way, for, at the Common Hall held for the election of sheriffs on 24th June 1769, they drew up their petition in no hesitating terms. They could get no redress, and in March 1770 a Common Hall was specially summoned, and passed another address, remonstrance, and petition to the king. Horace Walpole denounces this in terms which once again seem to help forward the historical character of the city's action: "A bolder declaration both against king and Parliament" was never seen. It did not stand alone, however, for later on, when Beckford, the lord mayor, delivered his memorable speech to the king, and when Chatham, writing to Beckford in the name of liberty, expressed himself in the language of history, "The spirit of old England spoke that never-to-be-forgotten speech. . . . Adieu, then, for the present (to call you by the most honourable of titles), true Lord Mayor of London, that is, first magistrate of the first city of the world!" there were echoes of the old conditions.

We cannot get away from the position here so remarkably unfolded. It is not political faction. It is constitutional and historical right, and throughout the entire period occupied by these pages we have not come across such great attributes nor such resounding titles produced by them. Hitherto there seems to have been no chance for London being acclaimed in this fashion. Statesmen of Plantagenet days looked askance at the liberty of the city. Statesmen of

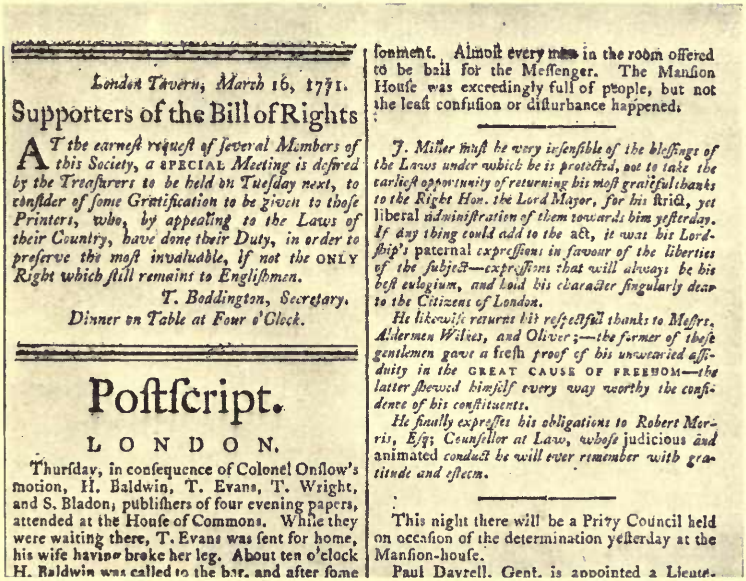
Tudor and Stuart days denied its liberty. Statesmen of the Georgian period included the great Chatham, and so the political view of London is duly represented. It brings to this last period the spirit of the early periods, and, though the constitutional position of the city in relation to Parliament was debated so fiercely, it was always on grounds which now appear to be quite remarkable in their historical aspect.



The London Evening-Poſt

Price Two-pence Half-penny.] From THURSDAY, MARCH 14, to SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1771. [Numb. [illegible]]

Chatham's letter does not complete the story, however. Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of George III.* (vol. iv. p. 191) contains the story of the House of Commons' messenger who, in 1771, came to arrest Miller, the printer of the London *Evening Post.* It is full of incidents which illustrate the city's claim to its ancient rights. The lord mayor declared that no power had a right to seize a citizen of London without authority from him or some other magistrate, nor should he while he held that office; the messenger of the House was committed for assault and bound over by sureties to appear at the Guildhall at the next session. Such high attacks on their authority roused the House of Commons and startled the ministers. The entire proceedings are remarkable, but when "the House of Commons sent for the lord mayor's book, and tore out the messenger's recognisances," the dramatic element belonged to the House of Commons, but the constitutional element remained with the Common Council of the city. The House of Commons did not prove itself master by this remarkable method of asserting its position. It left the Common Council with all the city traditions untouched.



London Tavern, March 16, 1771.

Supporters of the Bill of Rights

AT the earneſt requeſt of ſeveral Members of this Society, a SPECIAL *Meeting is deſired by the Treaſurers to be held on Tueſday next, to conſider of ſome Gratification to be given to thoſe Printers, who, by appealing to the Laws of their Country, have done their Duty, in order to preſerve the moſt invaluable, if not the* ONLY *Right which ſtill remains to Engliſhmen.*

T. Boddington, Secretary.

Dinner on Table at Four o'Clock.

Poſtſcript.

L O N D O N.

Thurſday, in conſequence of Colonel Onſlow's motion, H. Baldwin, T. Evans, T. Wright, and S. Bladon; publiſhers of four evening papers, attended at the Houſe of Commons. While they were waiting there, T. Evans was ſent for home, his wife having broke her leg. About ten o'clock H. Baldwin was called to the bar, and after ſome

ſonment. Almoſt every man in the room offered to be bail for the Meſſenger. The Manſion Houſe was exceedingly full of people, but not the leaſt confuſion or diſturbance happened.

J. Miller muſt be very inſenſible of the bleſſings of the Laws under which he is protected, not to take the earlieſt opportunity of returning his moſt grateful thanks to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his ſtrict, *yet* liberal *adminiſtration of them towards him yeſterday. If any thing could add to the* act, *it was his Lordſhip's* paternal *expreſſions in favour of the liberties of the ſubject—expreſſions that will always be his beſt eulogium, and hold his character ſingularly dear to the Citizens of London.*

He likewiſe returns his reſpectful thanks to Meſſrs. Aldermen Wilkes, and Oliver;—the former of theſe gentlemen gave a freſh *proof of his unwearied aſſiduity in the* GREAT CAUSE OF FREEDOM*—the latter ſhewed himſelf every way worthy the confidence of his conſtituents.*

He finally expreſſes his obligations to Robert Morris, Eſq; Counſellor at Law, whoſe judicious *and* animated *conduct he will ever remember with gratitude and eſteem.*

This night there will be a Privy Council held on occaſion of the determination yeſterday at the Manſion-houſe.

Paul Davrell, Gent. is appointed a Lieute-

From the *London Evening Post*, March 14–16, 1771.

It is not necessary to pursue the events more closely. We have recovered for observation in their historical setting the salient features of the great struggle of Georgian London against king and Parliament on behalf of the liberty of the subject. In these features we recognise the old London claim, we hear of Mile End as the constitutional meeting-place, we see the Common Hall assuming its old position as the grumble place of outraged citizenship. We see the lord mayor defending citizens' rights in terms which set our pulses throbbing; we see city law set against state law, as we have already seen it in the year book of Edward II. And in these facts we have historical continuity involving many points of ancient London law and custom over which the citizens had struggled for a long time, and which above all things now supplied the modern counterparts of the ancient position. "We know the value and consequence," said the sheriffs of the city to Lord Weymouth, "of the citizens' right to apply immediately to the king and not to a third person, and we do not mean that any of their rights and privileges should be betrayed by our means."

Looking back at the historical position of the city, there cannot be a doubt that there is conscious continuity in these things. In the case noted above the action of the Common Hall is perhaps the most remarkable feature. Not for several centuries had it been allowed to take independent action in London's affairs. The first refusal of the lord mayor was in strict accord with the precedent which has been already examined. The successful effort of the Common Hall in obtaining their meeting was a resumption of still more ancient methods. At every stage we discover constitutional acts, not revolutionary attempts, and Georgian London during these events was acting in the spirit of Plantagenet London, with the methods of Norman London, in accordance with the mastery assumed by Anglo-Saxon London, and with formula and purpose derived from its position as city-state of the Romans. To have reached this stage through the phases that history has allowed us to pass is the greatest argument for the interpretation put upon past events; and though there is nothing further to chronicle down to modern times, modern London may almost feel the throb of events which reach back from the eighteenth century to their beginnings in the fifth.

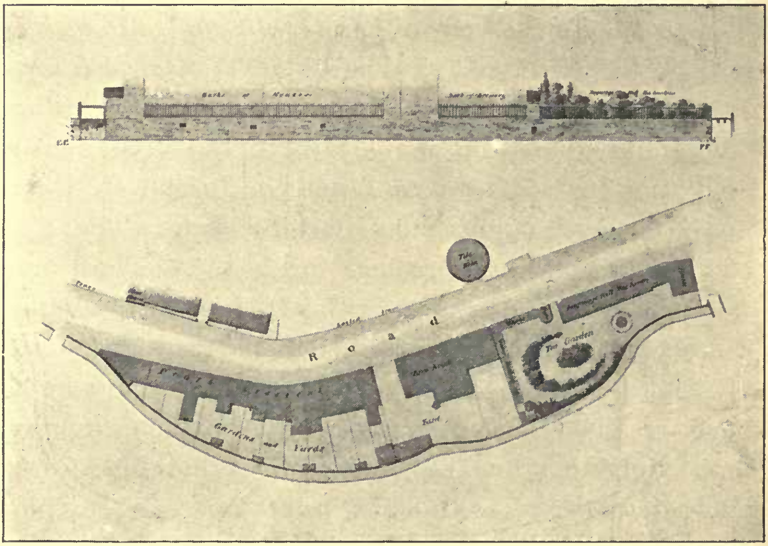
Once again we must point out that all this struggle was constitutional, not factious or revolutionary. London has never led a revolution as Paris did. She decided against Charles I., but it was in support of the country, not initiative in the manner of a revolutionary city. London has ever acted constitutionally. The distinction is of enormous importance, for it indicates a permanently historical position and not a mere outburst on a special occasion. There is no real dispute anywhere as to London's main position, only as to the degree to which it applies, and in this fact lies the strength of my main position as to continuity. In this last instance it was a struggle by the modern House of Commons, just becoming sensible of its own inherent democratic power, against the rights of the ancient city, long sensible of the value of its traditional custom. That such a struggle should have taken place—that the Common Council of London and the House of Commons of the nation should be standing up against each other on the common ground of constitutional liberty—is surely remarkable testimony to the strength and force of the traditional position of London. No other city would have entered into such a struggle. No other city had the right to make such demands. That London could and did act as it acted is because of its ancient independence of state government. It is the city as an institution once more putting its traditional custom into the practical form of constitutional action at the moment when constitutional action was necessary to meet the great emergency. Traditions such as London possesses are allowed, properly allowed, to sleep during the periods of no importance, or of small importance, in matters which concern it in the national progress, but these events show that they burst into vigorous life again when the occasion is great. The mid-seventeenth century occasion was great. And that London took it greatly, as part of its city task, is the only aspect of this memorable episode which it is possible for the historian to take.

These events are paralleled in purely municipal events by the assertion of the city to ancient rights.

The parallel is not unimportant. If London acts greatly in great matters she is in a mood to do so in more domestic matters. Ceremonial functions are expressive, institutional functions are still more so, and it is well to have at least one example which will bear out the parallel which always arises at these junctures.

A passage preserved in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1786 (Part I., p. 77) tells us that: "On Friday, 13th January, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, etc., going to St Margaret's Hill, in the Borough, to hold the Quarter Sessions, found Sir Joseph Mawbey in the chair, holding the Quarter Sessions for the county, and trying a prisoner for felony. The Lord Mayor waited patiently till the trial was over, and sentence passed on the prisoner to be transported to Africa. It was then expected that Sir Joseph would have resigned the chair, instead of which he was proceeding to other trials, which brought on a warm altercation between the Recorder and Sir Joseph. The Recorder insisted he was infringing the rights of the City. Sir Joseph insisted on the privilege of the County. The Recorder pointed out Guildford, Croydon, or Kingston, as the proper places for that business. At length Sir Joseph quitted the chair, and the Lord Mayor took his place." The point here raised was by no means insignificant. It not only expressed the city's claim to jurisdiction in Southwark, but the resumption of its claim.

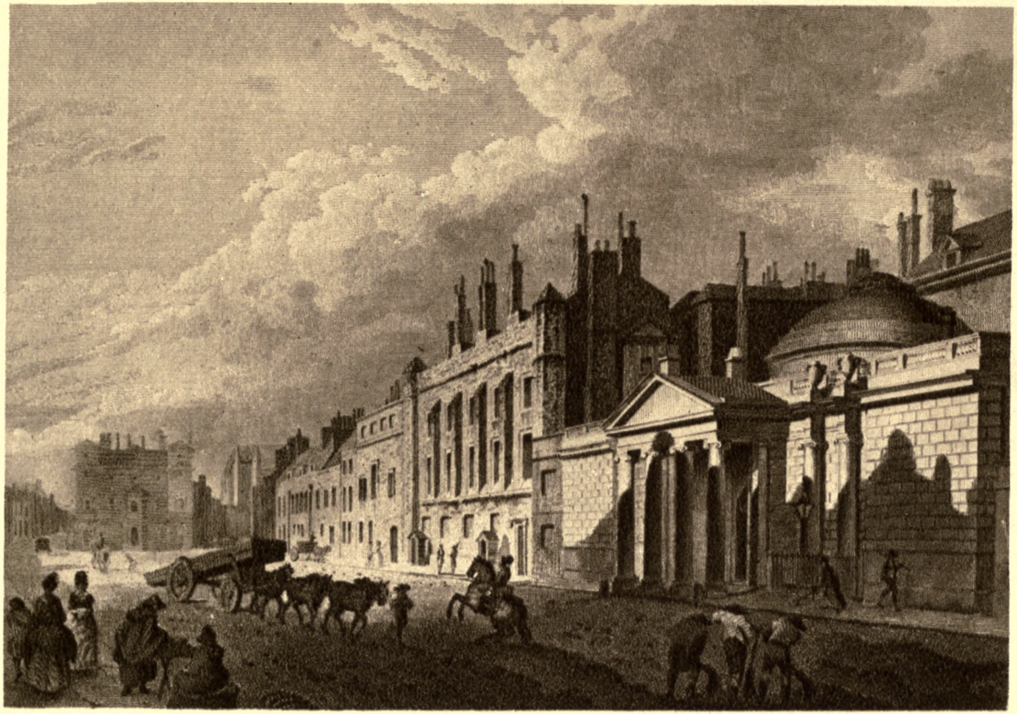
The inevitable question of expansion has now to be considered. Georgian expansion differed from Stuart expansion in many ways. It was more defined. It was the period of the laying out of great estates, and the period of the great town-planning scheme from Regent's Park to Pall Mall. It was also the period when the beauties of the most beautiful surrounding country were being discovered and used by jaded citizen or politician.



The River Fleet near Bagnigge Wells.

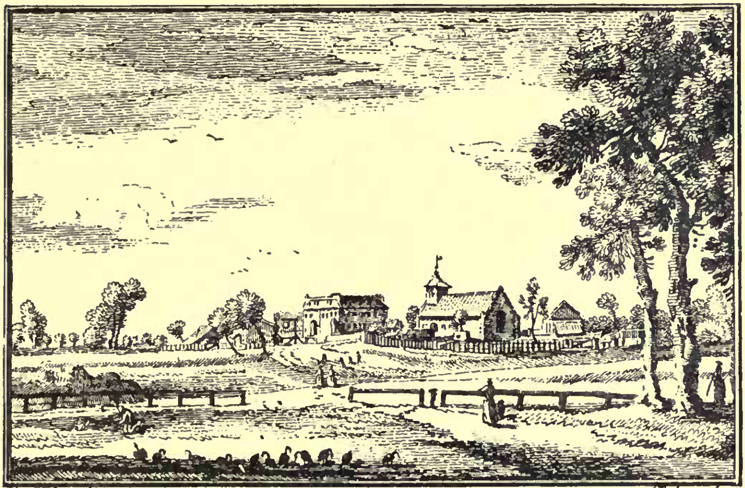
This latter point is interesting on its own account, and it has a decided influence upon the development of the expansion line.

Islington is the first attraction. The Islington spas were apparently first opened about 1684, for two curious tracts are thus entitled, *A Morning's Ramble:*



YORK HOUSE IN 1795, Showing the State of the Streets.
From an old engraving.

or, Islington Wells' Burlesqt, 1684, and *An Exclamation from Tunbridge and Epsom against the New-found Wells at Islington*, 1684. So late as 1736 Islington waters were recommended. A letter, dated 21st April of that year, from an anxious father to his son in London, says: "Dr Crowe thinks that if you could abide cold bathing it would go a great way in your cure. He has also a great opinion of Islington waters for your case."[1] In 1755 was printed a curious book, entitled *Islington: or, the Humours of the New Tunbridge Wells*, and in 1774 Islington was a watering-place, and people would ride there from the city to drink the waters.[2]



Chatelain delin J Roberts Sculp

A View of Paddington Church from the Green

Publish'd according to Act of Parliamt Octr the 20 1750

Hyde Park is described in the correspondence of

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, v. p. 400.

[2] *Ibid.*, xv. (vi.) p. 274.

1721 at Castle Howard as "so shamefully kept," and in such evidence we can detect why the expansion of London went on still further afield. Centres of health were sought for by those who wished still to remain in touch with London. Lady Lechmere stayed at Greenwich, and was "mighty fond of that place." She is described as being at Paddington in 1733, "for the air, having been out of order of late"; and a little later on in the same year, "Lady Lechmere not recovering so fast as I could wish, I have taken a lodging for her at Turnham Green and she proposes going there this week, Sir John Shadwell, her physician, assuring me country air, gentle exercise, and a regular diet would soon set her in a fair way of recovery."[1]

The Earl of Burlington built his seat at Chiswick, still in existence as a London suburban residence of the Duke of Devonshire, and celebrated as the death-place of both Canning and Fox and the meeting-place of many statesmen on great occasions. The king in 1827 altered Buckingham House into Buckingham Palace, and altered it to please no contemporary authority and no succeeding authority. The wonderful marble arch entrance to the palace remained until it was recognised as too stupid for this purpose; it was then removed to Hyde Park, to become an unsightly blot in its new position, and now remains stupidly in the middle of converging roads to fulfil no purpose of any kind.

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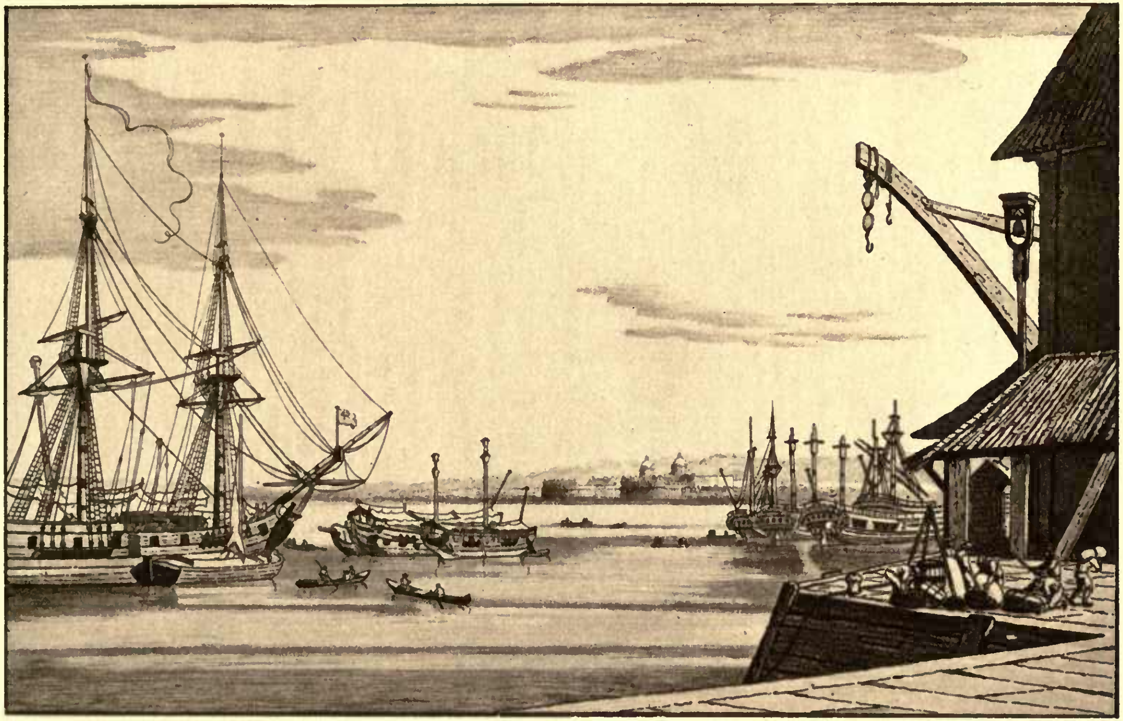
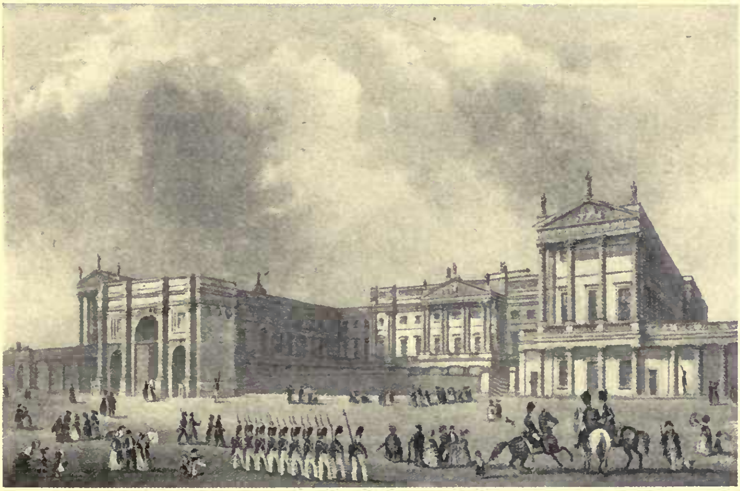
[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xv. (vi.) pp. 35, 54, 99, 107.



GREENWICH PALACE from the ROYAL DOCKYARD at DEPTFORD in 1795.
From an engraving by I. C. Sladler, after a drawing by I. Farington, R.A.

Such foolishness as this, however, did not mark every Georgian scheme, for the great Regency scheme of town-planning will ever remain as a prominent and beautiful example of the possibilities of London. It provided for its future as well as its own present, and we of this age can appreciate the extent of the debt of London for this great scheme when it is compared with the miserable littleness of nearly all later schemes. I am claiming this scheme for Georgian London. It is eminently a part of it, typical of it, typical of the best part of it, and the scheme itself is a remarkable instance of broad-minded and far-seeing policy in town-planning, at a time when town-planning, as a science, was undreamed of. It is well worth relating in detail, for it is a story to be proud of, and it begins by the recognition of precisely the same



Buckingham Palace about 1820.

principle which we have noted was wisely advocated in Parliament when the rebuilding of London after the Fire was being considered, and it was a Government official who formulated this principle.

In 1793 the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands directed the attention of the Treasury to the opportunity which would be afforded, upon the expiration of the leases of the Marylebone Park estate, for laying-out the estate in an elegant manner, thereby at one and the same time increasing the Crown revenue and adding to the public amenities of the neighbourhood. The estate, which was formerly the outer park attached to the royal mansion of Henry VIII. at Marylebone, and comprised 543 acres, was let on leases expiring in 1803 and 1811, the greater part being held by the Duke of Portland. The Treasury took the matter up, and offered a premium of £1000 for the best design for laying-out the estate, but after waiting some years the Commissioners of Woods and Forests reported that architects would not bestow their time nor risk their reputation in competitions of the kind, and only three plans, all by the same person,[1] were received. The Commissioners accordingly fell back upon the departmental architects, and in 1810 instructed Mr Leverton and Mr Chowne of the Land Revenue Department, and Mr John Nash of the Department of Woods, to submit schemes for

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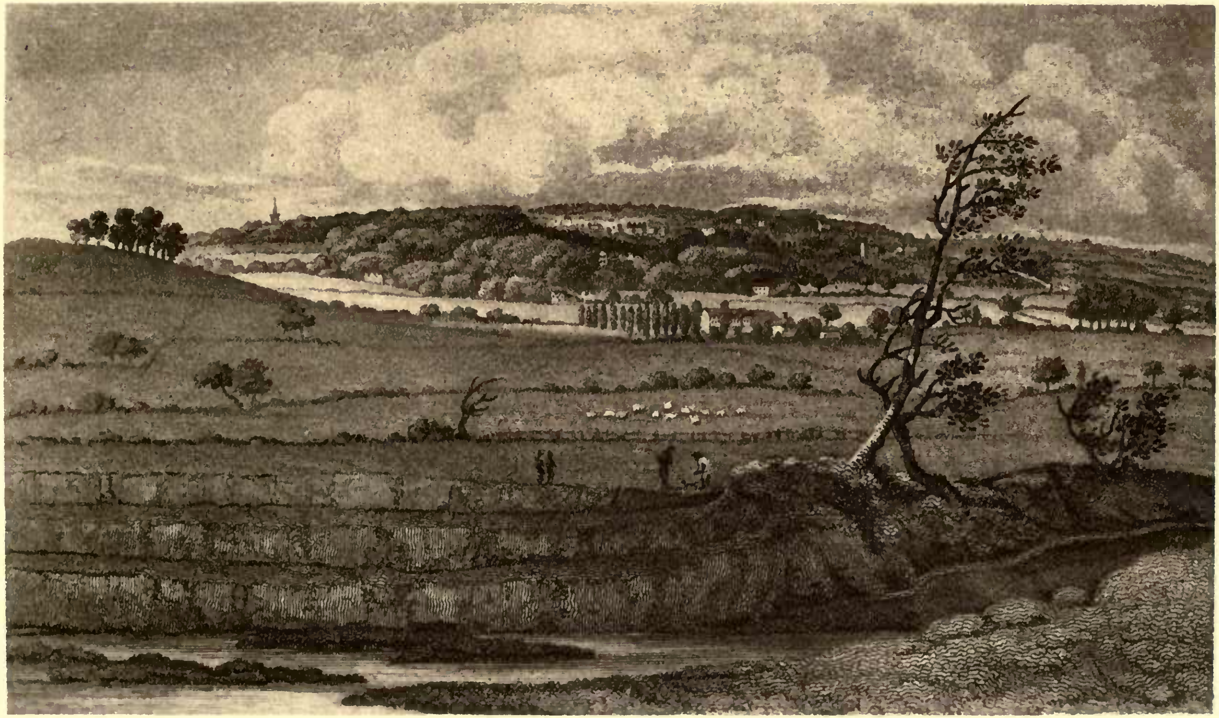
[1] A Mr John White, the agent of the Duke of Portland for the portion of the Marylebone Park estate held by him. This Mr White vigorously opposed the scheme finally adopted.

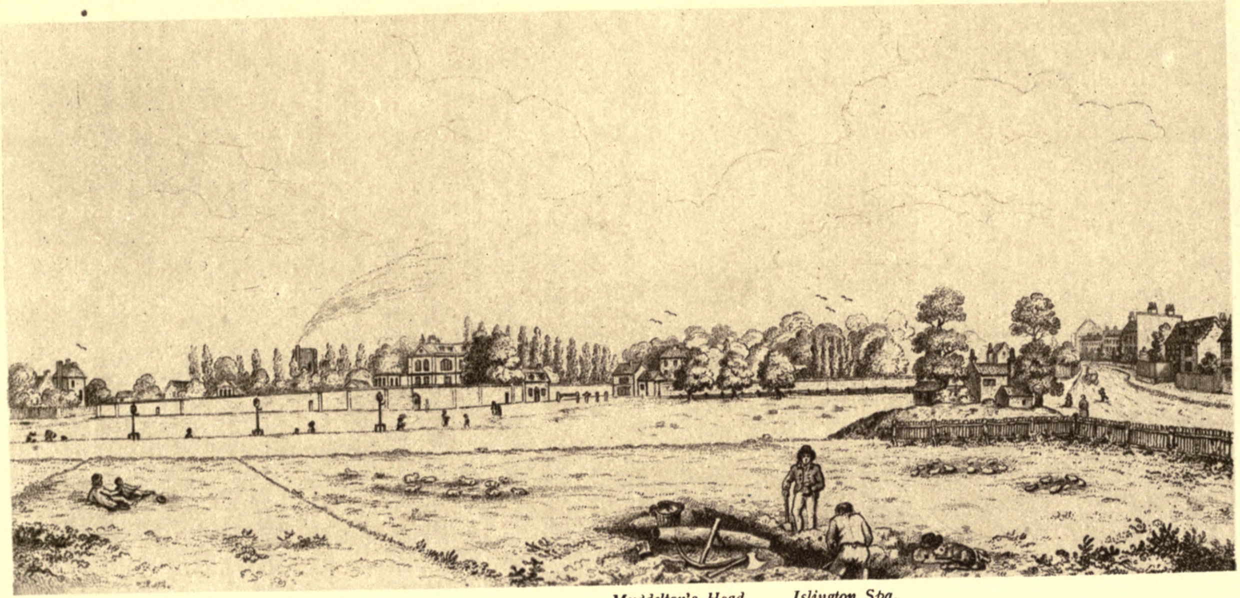


HAMPSTEAD IN 1814 from the Banks of the Regent's Canal, then in Course of Construction.
From an engraving by W. Angus, after G. Shepherd.

the development of the estate. The scheme submitted by the former proposed to lay out two-thirds of the ground in streets and squares upon the lines of the neighbouring Bedford, Portland, and Portman estates, and to let the remaining one-third for villas with gardens or for nurseries. Mr Nash's plan was formed on a different and greater view of the subject. His proposal was to create another Hyde Park in the growing district of St Marylebone, with squares, circuses, and crescents in the best style of architecture. The Park, of between 200 and 300 acres, was to form the centre-piece, and the villas, with extensive shrubberies annexed, were to be grouped round. the whole being girded with an external ride or drive. In the valley within the Park a large ornamental piece of water was to be formed, and a chain of markets was to be established on the eastern side. Mr Nash's scheme, which was urged would be an antidote to the extensive speculative building then going on in the locality, was adopted practically in its entirety, the principal alterations being due to the Government's decision to allow greater open space and fewer buildings.

Intimately bound up with the Park scheme were two other proposals—(1) the construction of a canal through the northern portion of the Park, and (2) the provision of better means of access from the Park to the West End. The canal was to be a continuation of the Grand Junction Canal from Paddington, to unite with the Thames at Limehouse; and, in support of what might have appeared to be the intrusion of an essentially commercial undertaking into a high-class estate, the promoters pointed out the advantage of having a supply of water for the ornamental lake, and ready water conveyance to the barracks and markets to be erected on the eastern side. Nash, in his first plan, designed the canal, of a length and breadth equal to that in St James's Park, to pass through the upper part of the Park. The sides were to form three terraces or public promenades—"a grand, a novel feature in the Metropolis." The Commissioners, however, would not agree to this encroachment on the Park, and the canal was relegated (to Nash's disappointment, it would appear, and at heavy loss to the Company) to the outer circle, with a collateral cut or basin reaching down by Albany Street.

The laying-out of the Park estate necessitated new means of communication with the west and north-west quarters of London. The only convenient communication from Pall Mall and Charing Cross to St Marylebone at that time was by means of Bond Street. In Bond Street were then concentrated all the West End fashionable shops, and the congestion of traffic therein was becoming unbearable. In Messrs Leverton and Chowne's scheme, a new street, 70 feet wide and practically in a straight line, was to be cut through from Oxford Street through Piccadilly to the top of the Haymarket and so to the east end of Pall Mall. Mr Nash proposed a street beginning at Charing Cross and terminating at Portland Place.

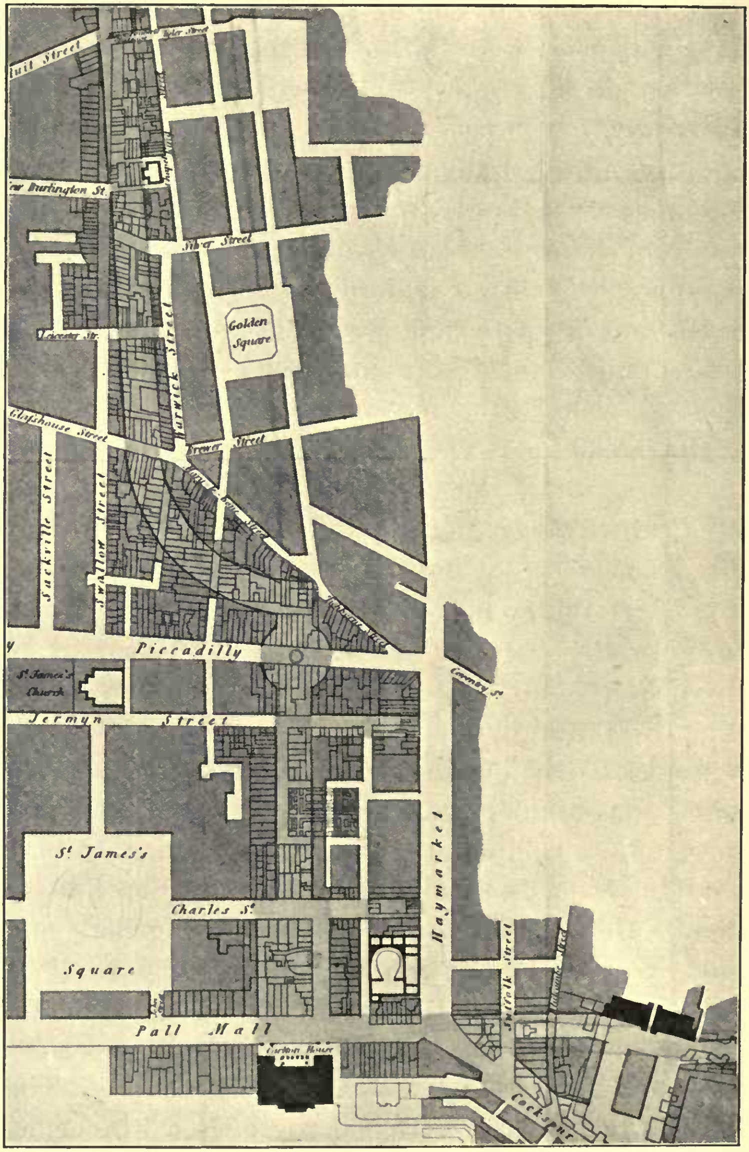

Merlin's Cave.
Myddelton's Head.
Islington Spa.

NEW RIVER HEAD near SADLER'S WELLS in 1795.

From an engraving by J. Swaine.

Pall Mall was to be continued eastwards to meet the Haymarket. From Carlton House the new street was to go at right angles with Pall Mall into Piccadilly. A circus was to be formed at Piccadilly, and just north of the circus a square, with a public building in the centre, was placed. The street then ran from the western corner of the square in a slightly oblique direction to Oxford Street (where another circus was formed), and was continued north in a straight line to meet Portland Place. Portland Place, then the widest street in London (100 feet), was taken as the model for the breadth of the street throughout its entire length, except at the lower end near Pall Mall, where it was 200 feet. In the light of recent discussions as to the form of rebuilding Regent Street, it is interesting to note that Nash designed colonnades to cover the whole of the pavements in the streets from Pall Mall to Oxford Street. One advantage urged was that the tops of the colonnades would form balconies to the lodging-rooms over the shops, from which the occupiers would survey the gay scenes and so "induce single men, and others who only visit town occasionally, to give a preference to such lodgings." Criticisms as to colonnades being dark and gloomy and liable to misuse were met by Nash.

It will be observed that Nash's plan did not contain the famous Quadrant. He designed the square, so as to avoid purchasing property in Golden Square. The Treasury, in April 1813, approved Nash's scheme, subject to the square north of Piccadilly Circus being

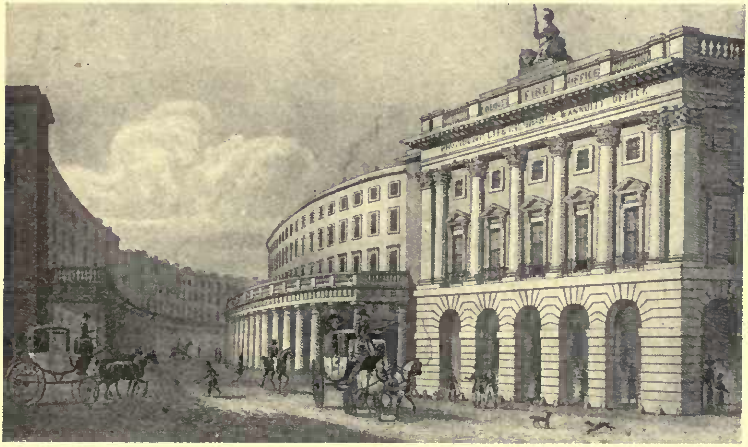

uil Street
Tyler Street
w Burlington St.
Silver Street
Golden Square
Leicester Str.
Warwick Street
Glasshouse Street
Brewer Street
Sackville Street
Swallow Street
Piccadilly
St James's Church
Jermyn Street
Coventry St.
St James's Square
Charles St.
Haymarket
Suffolk Street
Pall Mall
Carlton House
Cockspur

Regent Street—"Plan of proposed new street from Charing Cross to Portland Place," 1813.

altered to a curve, and to a further curve being introduced north of Oxford Circus. This latter curve was introduced partly to shorten the long vista down Portland Place, and partly to avoid some expensive property belonging to Earl St Vincent. In addition Pall Mall East was to be continued as far as St Martin's Church, and the approach from Cockspur Street improved. Nash had suggested that a square or crescent might be formed at Charing Cross, but this was not included in the scheme, Trafalgar Square coming twenty years later.

The Act authorising the improvement received royal assent in July 1813, and the carrying of it out was promptly commenced. By 1816 the external drive and the roads, fences, and plantations had all been completed, the bed of the ornamental water had been excavated, and so much of the canal as passed through the estate was finished. Building operations were, however, slow, the lots remained on hand much longer than had been anticipated, and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests had to resort to farming operations to bring in revenue. In one portion of the estate potatoes were raised between the avenues of trees, but with little pecuniary return. Another venture—the sowing of 9½ acres with a new root, the mangel-wurzel—was a great success, over £600 net profit being realised in 1815. By 1819 but little progress had been made, on account of the failure of the builder who had taken up certain plots; but by 1823 considerable lettings had been effected, and the buildings on the south and east side began to spring up. Within the next three years there was a great demand for sites, and most of the scheme, as contemplated by Nash, was well on its way to completion. Alterations were, however, made in the direction of lessening buildings within the Park. Thus, in the centre of the Park, on what is now known as the inner circle, it was proposed to erect inner external circuses of houses, in the centres of which the designer suggested a public building should be placed to receive the statues and monuments of distinguished men. This proposal was abandoned in 1826, when it was also decided to leave open the northern boundary of the Park. The cost of acquiring the property required, and forming sewers and pavements, proved far greater than had been anticipated, and the land revenue of the Crown was largely absorbed for some years in meeting the liabilities of the scheme. By 1819, £1,000,000 had been expended. The street was then completed from Piccadilly to Pall Mall, and there was a good demand for building plots. By 1823, sites bringing in a yearly rental of £34,500 had been let. The total cost of the work was £1,533,000, and the rentals now receivable fully justify the view taken of the method and principle of improving an urban estate. The whole story is worth being told, if only as a lesson to modern London—to the Government departments which arrange petty one-sided improvements; to the municipal authorities who are content to improve

London by feet and inches instead of by outlet roads capable of meeting the traffic; and to estate owners who do not appreciate that free and open access to their property, whether residential or business, is an absolute necessity for the increasing of site values. Londoners will appreciate the story by a just understanding of the relief the scheme has given to the requirements of to-day. There is indeed no aspect of it which does not lead to the contemplation of what a great London may mean.

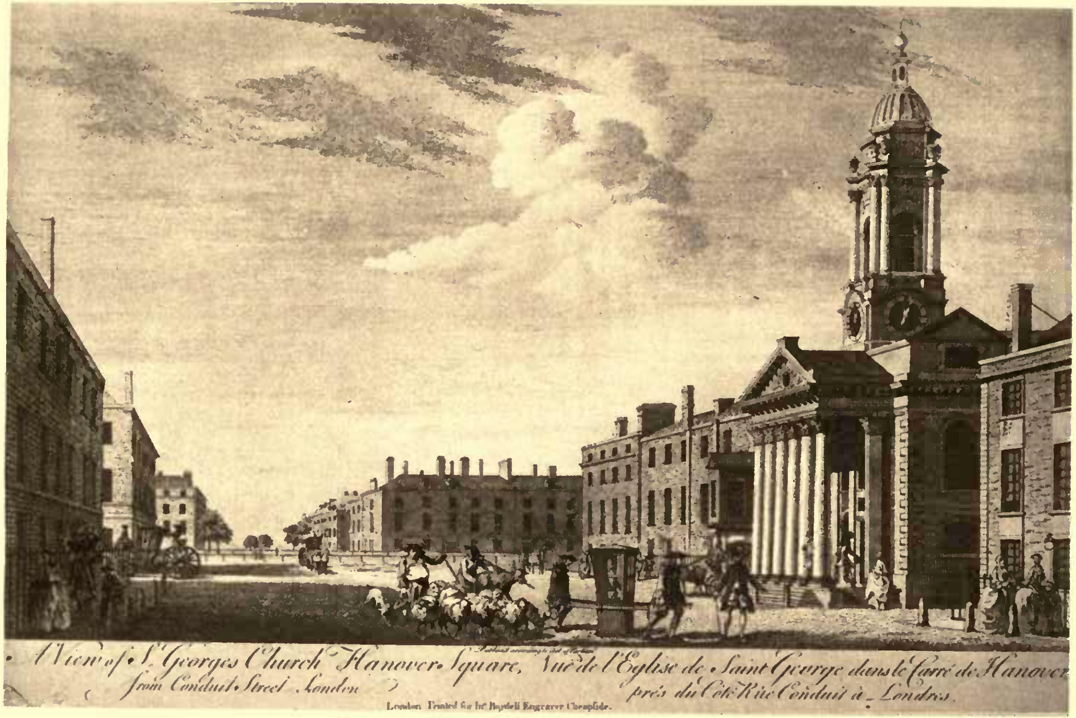


Regent Street in 1827.

There has been nothing quite so extensive and useful since. The great scheme of Kingsway and Aldwych is the nearest, with its bold running of a tramway from the Embankment under the Strand and connecting north and south London. But Kingsway and Aldwych stop short at Holborn and do not follow the parallel Regent Street scheme by penetrating at least to the Euston Road. Other schemes, the East and West India Dock Road, the Whitechapel Road, have proved useful in a limited way instead of extremely valuable in a great way, and thus London proceeds with its expansions, without ideals and without effective practical results.

A remarkable feature of the expansion of Georgian London comes from quite a different source, namely, the development of the great estates. This has given us one of the most beautiful features of modern London, namely, the squares as they are called. The Bedford, Grosvenor, Cadogan, Portman, Camden, and other estates were laid out in no mean fashion. There was no cramping, and there was design, with the result that throughout London this method has been to an extent adopted, and has given to London no less than three hundred and sixty-three of these beautiful islets of green amidst the acreage of bricks.

The oldest square in London is St James's, which was authorised by an Act of 1725; then follow Charterhouse Square in 1742, Golden Square in 1750, Grosvenor Square in 1774, Hoxton Square in 1777, the Bedfordbury Squares in 1799 and succeeding years, Edwardes Square, Kensington, in 1819, the remainder following on at intervals. Every one of these squares has an interesting history. Statesmen have resided there, political actions of the greatest importance have been discussed and decided in dining-rooms and studies of houses in these squares, tragedies have been enacted, lives have been spent


A View of St. Georges Church Hanover Square, from Conduit Street London
Vue de l'Eglise de Saint George dans le Carré de Hanover près du Côté Rue Conduit à Londres.
London. Printed for Jno. Boydell Engraver Cheapside.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, HANOVER SQUARE, about 1790
From an engraving by John Boydell.

in the making of historical events of the greatest moment to the nation. But even the accumulated history, if it could be written, would not equal one great factor which appears in the original system of control conferred by the wisdom of Parliament upon the inhabitants of squares. They are governed by a series of remarkable private statutes. Thus the Southampton Estate Act of 1801 places in the hands of commissioners not only all the powers of paving, lighting, cleansing, watering which were necessary, including the sinking of wells for the supply of water—a feature which is still preserved in Berkeley Square—but also the duty of appointing "such number of watchmen and patroles" as they shall think fit, and providing "them with proper arms, ammunition, weapons, clothing, for the discharge of their duty," the cost of which services was to be met by the levy of a rate upon the inhabitants. These surely are remarkable provisions. They set up islands of government endowed with powers which were hardly possessed by duly constituted municipal authorities, and the question at once arises whether the great power of an armed constabulary was demanded by the condition of things in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, or whether it was the demand which property made as the price of its development. We need not seek an answer to this question too closely, for we shall find it among the conditions which accompanied the expansion and growth of London.

Expansions from the centre did not lead to improvements in the centre, and there are several examples of the bad conditions which gradually were allowed to exist.

One element in the bad conditions is most serious. In 1729 private correspondence describes London as "a kind of mistress dissolute in principle, loose in practice, and extravagant in pleasure"; and later on we have George Selwyn writing to Lord Carlisle in 1775 (3rd August), from Almack's, that "it is dreadful the increase of violence and audaciousness of robberies in London, and for many miles about at this time. I am much more struck with the terror of these insurgents than with any at a greater distance, and should be heartily glad that every ounce of silver plate was immediately melted down throughout the kingdom towards raising a *maréchaussé* for our defence and supporting a better police." A little later on in the same year he again writes on this subject: "Not only the environs of this town, but all the little bye-lanes and avenues to it, are filled with footpads and highwaymen."[1]

Bad roads helped towards such conditions. *A Trip through London*, a famous book, which in 1728 reached a fifth edition, gives us a lamentable picture of the streets about the Houses of Parliament: "That I may be regular in my complaints of all publick and private nuisances I shall exhibit a bill against the streets and Highways of the city and liberty of Westminster. Every avenue is guarded by a turnpike, whereby large sums of money are annually raised for their repair, and the inhabitants are not without apprehensions of seeing turnpikes upon the Thames upon another year; yet the streets and passages leading to both houses of parliament are in such great disorder that I have known those members who have pass'd thither in their coaches so toss'd and jumbled about that it has been near an hour e'er they could recover the use of their limbs and proceed to business. A commoner once being overturned in his chariot in King's Street went immediately to the House and in very lively terms remonstrated against the badness of the ways. Another member opposed the motion, urging that as the publick companies for raising water were continually laying down pipes a bill for repairs of the streets would prove to little or no purpose."

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[1] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vol. xv. (vi.) pp. 57, 283, 290.

This is only a reflection from earlier conditions as described in that curious satire entitled *Sorbiere's Journey to London in 1698*, when it states that "the Gutters are deep and laid with rough edges which make the coaches not to glide easily over 'em, but occasion an employment for an industrious sort of people call'd Kennel-Rakers."

The indictment against the turnpikes is complete—there will be "turnpikes upon the Thames another year," and the Commons House of Parliament solemnly debates the conditions of the road approaches to its own chamber. City government in London was destroyed by the methods and conditions of expansion, and the signs of destruction are worse than anything we have previously encountered.

This is the last record we are going to have of this unregulated expansion. The record is not creditable to a city having the history and traditions of London, nor to a government which conceived and carried out the great Regency scheme. If Parliament had not quite realised its duty to or its relationship to London, London had a very distinct idea of its own position in the past, and therefore of its claims upon Parliament. Neither corporation nor Parliament acted, and the inheritance of such inaction has pressed with terrible force upon modern London.

In spite of this, however, the great fact from this period does not rest entirely upon the note of despair, but on that of hope. One cannot doubt that Georgian London took its strong action against Parliament because of its ancient independence, its ancient controlling force, its sense of historical continuity. That there is no coming back to this point in our story of continuity makes the importance of it all the greater. It is the point where we leave ancient London and its continuity of aim and ideal for the new London of to-day without aim and without ideal. But if aim and ideal come back to London it will gladly look upon the events of its Georgian period, uneven though they are, as the point of contact from which the continuity of history may once more be taken up.

CHAPTER XI

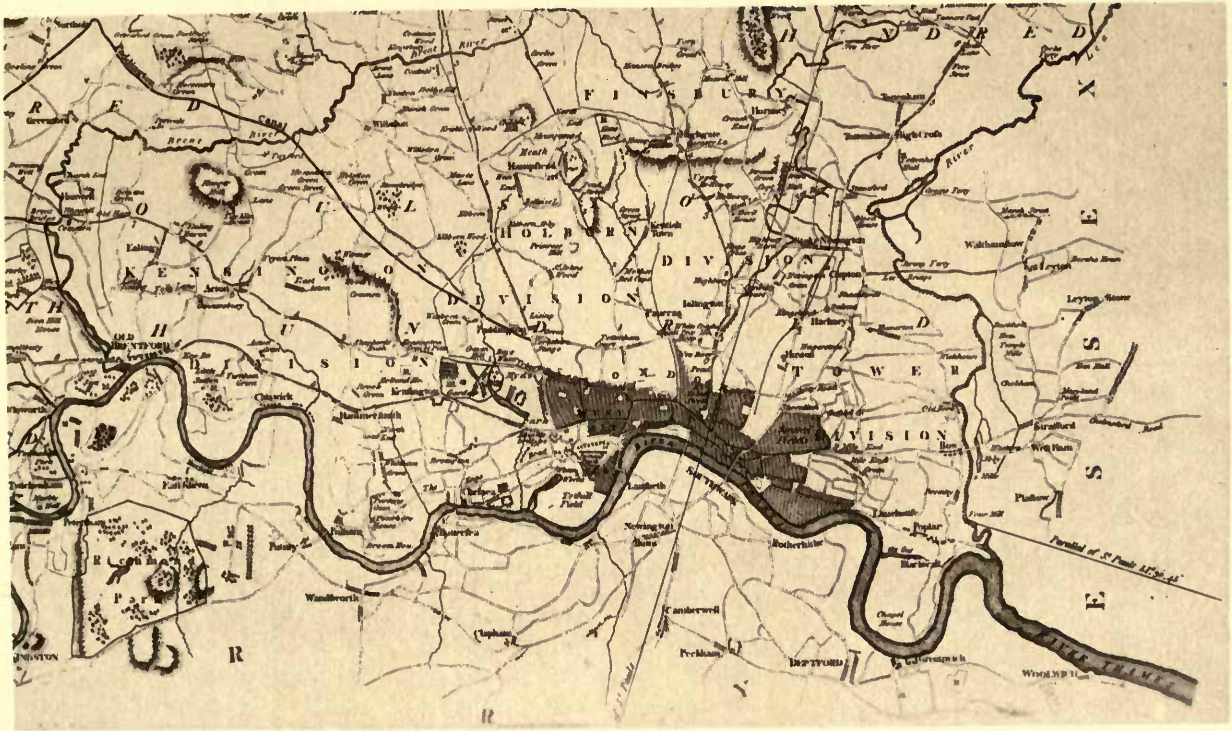
GROWTH

EXPANSION has hitherto been limited in area and occasional rather than continuous. We now come definitely to an expansion which has made London, with its suburbs, the largest city community in the world. It has grown from its small area of one square mile, the largest Roman city in Britain, to the immense county area of one hundred and twenty square miles, and it is growing beyond this boundary.

The various estate Acts afford the first most effective evidence as to how this expansion has taken place, and the maps of London allow the stages to be set out with precision. There are eight different periods of extension—from the city walls to the first extension up to 1658, from 1658 to 1668, thence to 1745, thence to 1799, thence to 1832, then the 1832 extension, next from 1832 to 1852, and finally from 1862 to 1887. Thus is shown the ever-widening area creeping along the highways, and gradually filling in the backs until at last the monster city, as it is called, has become one vast extent of bricks and mortar with little, if any, architectural purpose or design, with unlovely houses in unlovely streets—a city spoiled of its natural beauty and delight by the unthinking minds of the modern Englishman.

It is curious that no direct record of the destruction of the city wall exists. It went slowly, not effectually to make a feature of the newer London. It appears in perfect order in Jeffery's Plan of London, 1735, and had disappeared from the maps when Rocque published his map in 1746. Active destruction went on about this period. Acts of Parliament were passed for improving the city, and there is an ominous list of "openings to be made in the City of London pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed this last session," printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1760, and nearly all relating to the wall. This Act was that of 33 Geo. II., cap. 30, and its title sets forth its object: "An Act for widening certain streets, lanes, and passages within the City of London, and liberties thereof, and for opening certain new streets and ways within the same, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

The first extension is along the river-bank to Westminster on the north and Southwark on the south, showing the river to have been the principal highway of the city. The next extension, just after the fire, is north of the city area towards Old Street. Three-quarters of a century later (1745) we get a great extension all round up to Hyde Park on the west, just north of Oxford Street, Theobald's Road, and Old Street on the north, to Whitechapel and


FINSBURY
HOLBORN
DIVISION
KENSINGTON
DIVISION
TOWER
DIVISION
ESSEX
RIVER THAMES
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Leyton Stone
Hackney
Islington
Stratford
West Ham
Plaistow
Bow
Mile End
Poplar
Rotherhithe
Newington Butts
Lambeth
Camberwell
Peckham
Deptford
Greenwich
Woolwich
Clapham
Wandsworth
Putney
Battersea
Chelsea
Hammersmith
Chiswick
Kensington
Ealing
Acton

LONDON AND SUBURBS IN 1798.

Limehouse on the east. Another fifty years (1799) we have a further fringe of narrow dimensions penetrating to Knightsbridge on the west, creeping up Edgware Road, taking in the southern part of Marylebone, extending to Camden Town, adding to the 1745 extension in the east a narrow belt all round, and finally showing the first great extension in North Lambeth along the banks of the river. In 1832 the Regent's Park district on the north, a large district of Lambeth on the south, and a further extension of Bermondsey and Southwark are the principle features. Islington, St Pancras, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and Mile End also filled up at this date, together with a little bit of Greenwich. In 1862 the great era of building set in, and all round the boundary of the 1832 limits we have great extensions. The next stage is 1887, which again shows an extension of the building area all round the map; and now, twenty years later, we have scarcely any boundary of London left, for building has gone on spreading into Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex at a pace which almost defies the cartographer.

There are several obvious effects from this continual extension of the building line, but it also resulted in a reconstruction of underground London by the conversion of the ancient streams of London into sewers. Thus the King's Scholars' Pond sewer was so called because it emptied itself into the Thames at the King's Scholars' Pond (near the present Vauxhall Bridge), on "the great level extending from the Horse Ferry to Chelsey Mead." Incidentally it may be mentioned that during the reign of Queen Anne the name of the sewer was dutifully changed to Queen's Scholars' Pond sewer. Anciently it was known as the Tyburn brook, and later as the Aye brook, and flowed down the hill from Marylebone Fields, passing near the old village of Tyburn and across the Acton or Tyburn road (Oxford Street) and the present Brook Street, through Mayfair to the Stone Bridge, situated at the "dip" in modern Piccadilly. Passing under the bridge and the high road to Kensington, it entered what is now known as the Green Park. Large ponds were formed in the course of the sewer in this part of the park. At the bottom of the hill the streamlet passed through the gardens of Goring or Arlington House, where Buckingham Palace now stands, and along by the "coach road to Chelsea"—the present Buckingham Palace Road—and what is now Vauxhall Bridge Road to the river. At different periods the stream was altered in various parts of its course, and gradually covered in and converted into an underground sewer. There were other small tributaries of the Thames which became in course of time underground sewers. One was the Bayswater brook, or West Bourne, which became the important Ranelagh Sewer, and part of which was utilised to form the Serpentine. A glance at the map of the original winding course of this stream will easily explain the origin of the name "Serpentine." Further west was the Counter's

Creek, with its tributary, the Stinking Ditch. The Ravensbourne and the Wandle are the last of the ancient streams of London.

It is idle to say that this growth and its accompanying circumstances have had any meaning for statesmen and political philosophers. It has been ignored for so long, has been allowed to proceed without direction and without control, has brought with it such immeasurable wrongs, that it has almost become an accepted truism that London cannot be organised into a civic unit. Like other apparent truisms this one is false, and the degree to which its falsity extends may best be understood by the conditions of life which attended the phenomenal growth of our great city. Pride in such a growth is reasonable enough if it had been accompanied by great ideas of what London was growing into. It is immensely pitiful when we know the facts. Full details of the facts cannot be given, for they would fill a volume, but as illustrations I will quote from official reports examples which are by no means peculiar to one part of London.

An official report of 1849 contains the following description of Hammersmith:

"Brook Green on its western side contained an open ditch, wide, stagnant, and with a large accumulation of foul deposit, receiving the drainage of most of the houses in its vicinity, and of a foul and pestilential ditch at the rear of several cottages in Slater's Buildings, running, in a covered sewer, across the main road, thence *open*, taking a very circuitous course through market-gardens to its outfall in the Thames, near Burlington Gardens, polluting with its exhalations the atmosphere throughout its entire course.

"Various blocks of houses at Brook Green drain into this ditch *by open ditches*. In these the foul deposit is on a level with the floors of the houses, the main ditch not affording a sufficent outfall for the discharge of the foul and fœtid matter, which has largely accumulated and emits highly offensive emanations.

"Proceeding more into the heart of Hammersmith, and nearer the southern boundary, as a further illustration of the nature of its drainage, is a foul open ditch having its origin from a covered drain in the main road near the Nag's Head public-house; thence running westward past the Angel Inn, in a covered drain; thence turning from the main street, resuming its open and offensive condition, through the yards at the rear of the houses on the south-side of Little George Street, receiving in its course the privies on its banks attached to some eighteen or twenty houses.

"The ditch *throughout* is in an excessively filthy condition; but in this portion there is a much larger accumulation of filth, and a proportionate increase of the noxious effluvium.

"The tidal water flows up this ditch, driving before it the foul accumulations; these are left by the receding tide in the upper part nearest the houses, and in the covered drain in the main road, exposing fresh surfaces of filth to active decomposition."

The district of the Potteries in North Kensington was similarly situated.

"On the north, east, and west sides this locality is skirted by open ditches, some of them of the most foul and pestilential character, filled with the accumulations from the extensive piggeries attached to most of the houses. Intersecting in various parts, and discharging into the ditches on the north and west, are many smaller but still more offensive open ditches, some skirting houses, the bedroom windows of which open over them; some running in the rear and fronts of houses, others at the sides and through the middle of the streets and alleys, loading the atmosphere throughout their course with their pestilential exhalations.

"The streets are unpaved and full of ruts, the surface is strewn with refuse of almost every conceivable description; they are at times wholly impassable. At *all* seasons they are in a most offensive and disgusting condition, emitting effluvia of the most nauseous character.

"The majority of the houses are of a most wretched class, many being mere hovels in a ruinous condition, and are generally densely populated; they are filthy in the extreme, and contain vast accumulations of garbage and offal, the small gardens attached to some being purposely raised by this to a greater height."

At St Giles the conditions were even worse as they are described in the official report:

"The houses described on the accompanying plan comprise Church lane and Carrier street, Fletcher's court, Kennedy court, Walsh's court, Hampshire Hog yard, &c., in the parish of Saint Giles, and form the remnant of that mass of buildings commonly called the 'Rookery,' recently taken down for the formation of New Oxford street. The property on the north of Church lane belongs to the executors of Col. Buckridge, and that on the south to Sir John Hanmer. It is the resort of the most depraved and filthy class of the community.

"Much might be said of the inconveniences and insufficient accommodation under which the multitudes suffer who are obliged to occupy these houses; for common necessaries of health, water supply, and the use of privies, they have to pay indirectly by excessive prices on articles of consumption, which are sold at the places where these are to be obtained. These pumps and necessaries are generally locked up after a certain hour in the morning. Many of the houses originally had privies, but they have been destroyed by the sub-landlords for the purpose of avoiding the enormous periodical cost of emptying the cesspools. An obvious consequence of this scarcity of convenience is, that the surface channels of the streets, passages, and courts are the receptacles for refuse and excreta, and the occasional sweeping in the middle of the day produces the most prejudicial effect upon the atmosphere." And then comes the touch of economic cynicism: "This property is considered of the most lucrative description. Two or three houses are underlet to a lessee for a term of years, at about 20*l.* per annum; he underlets the property house by house at about 35*l.* per annum; these are again let out in rooms at a still greater remunerative rent; and lastly, the separate beds in rooms are underlet to vagrants, tramps, and the refuse of society, at about 3d. per night; producing, after deducting rates, taxes, and losses, about 70*l.* per house per annum."

In January 1847 a Report was prepared by a Committee of the Statistical Society of London in reference to this place, which confirms the official report of two years later. The following is an extract:

"Your Committee have thus given a picture in detail of human wretchedness, filth, and brutal degradation, the chief features of which are a disgrace to a civilised country, and which your Committee have reason to fear, from letters that have appeared in the public journals, is but the type of the miserable condition of masses of the community, whether located in the small, ill-ventilated rooms of manufacturing towns, or in many of the cottages of the agricultural peasantry. In these wretched dwellings all ages and both sexes, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons, grown-up brothers and sisters, stranger-adult males and females, and swarms of children, the sick, the dying, and the dead, are herded together with a proximity and mutual pressure which brutes would resist."

That these sort of things were not quickly mended is proved from the evidence given by the Earl of Shaftesbury before the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, from which the following extracts are quoted:

"When they began [about 1857] to pull down parts of the houses in Tyndall's-buildings, Gray's-Inn-road, the swarms of vermin were so great that . . . the workmen, accustomed to that sort of thing, struck work . . . until fire-engines had been introduced charged with water that destroyed these animals." (Question 25.)

"Formerly there were a great many long alleys, and when I used to go into them if I stretched out my arms I struck the walls on both sides. . . . In these alleys lived from 200 to 300 people, and there was but one accommodation for the whole of that number, and that at the end; . . . one could not even approach that end. . . . We could not possibly go into the rooms at the bottom of the alley, but we were obliged to speak to the people through the windows above." (Question 31.)

"The air was dreadfully foul. The sun could not penetrate, and there never was any ventilation." (Question 32.)

"Frying-pan-alley, Holborn, was very narrow, the only necessary accommodation being at the end. In the first house that I turned into there was a single room; the window was very small, and the light came through the door. I saw a young woman there. . . . 'Look there,' said she, 'at that great hole; the landlord will not mend it; I have every night to sit up and watch, or my husband sits up to watch, because that hole is over a common sewer, and the rats come up, sometimes twenty at a time, and if we did not watch for them they would eat the baby up.' . . . That could not exist now." (Question 36.)

"I went into a low cellar [in Tyndall's-buildings]. . . . There were a woman and two children there. . . . From a hole in the ceiling there came a long open wooden tube supported by props, and from that flowed all the filth of the house above, right through the place where this woman was living, into the common sewer. . . . I believe much of that sort of thing occurred in London which could not occur now. Again, in another place I had heard that there were people living over cesspools. . . . We went there, and in the room there was boarding upon the floor; upon that boarding were living a woman and three children. We lifted up the boarding and there was the open cesspool . . . not one foot below the surface of the room. . . . It took an hour to clean by means of the machine." (Question 37.)

"They go into these tenement houses; they remain there a couple of months or three months; they go out again, and are succeeded by another family; they leave all their filth. . . . The other family come in, stay three months, and deposit their filth and off they go." (Question 39.)

"There was a famous place called Bermondsey Island. . . . It was a large swamp; a number of people lived there . . . in houses built upon piles [in about 1864]. . . . So bad was the supply of water there that I have positively seen the women dip their buckets into the water over which they were living, and in which was deposited all the filth of the place, that being the only water that they had for every purpose—washing, drinking, and so on." (Question 141.)

"In the old times the water was supplied sometimes only once a week, and at other times twice a week. . . . The water lasted for 20 or 25 minutes. . . . Many of them had to take it home and put it under their beds, where it inhaled all the noxious atmosphere." (Question 175.)

Does anyone study that terrible revelation of the real London—the massive substratum of London life, in Mr Charles Booth's seventeen volumes, *Life and Labour of the People of London*? The figures will become obsolete as time makes them into history, and ten years have already passed since they were published, but the facts will remain; and when the history of modern civilisation comes to be written, the glory and the sunshine, the science and the discovery, the conquest of the whole world for the purpose of its economic products, will not efface the histories of such human units as London. The effects of excessive rents in the shrinkage of accommodation and the consequent overcrowding, together with the enormous area of real poverty, make up a London which it does not do to dwell upon when one is engaged upon seeking out its story of continuity. Tottenham Court Road, St Giles, and Soho have ceased to be historical areas when they contain merely the victims of rack-renting, with a home life shrunken into the horrible classification of overcrowding. The poverty areas, once charming spots of London extensions, are now closed to all except those who herd there—St James Westminster, St Saviour's, Old Street, and South Shoreditch being the worst districts. And as we go round the map, making comparisons between district and district, between poverty area and poverty area, we are met with "a picture of expansion in all directions following lines and laws so definite as to provide a stable basis for action and to remove all excuse for want of preparation."[1] These are Mr Booth's words—the words of a statistical historian; and though perhaps London does not now contain the hideous details which Lord Shaftesbury depicted, the fact remains that we arrive merely at "a stable basis for action" and not at action itself.

If one could suggest that this evidence was exaggerated or untrue, even if it only related to isolated cases, it would have been possible to ignore it. Unfortunately, as it stands it is the other side to the picture of London's growth—that portion of the picture which has deprived London of its natural inheritance, and even now links it up with a great mileage of mean streets instead of with broad and stately avenues leading to the distances beyond, linked together by every convenience which citizenship has the right to command.

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[1] Final volume, p. 15.

The reason is not far to seek. The appropriation of legislative power by the state, the result of modern political thought, has produced complete definiteness in the state and indefiniteness in the cities. And there is no clearing away of this indefiniteness. We have seen the converse of this state of things under Plantagenet rule and the lessons it taught to London. We see now the position to which London has been brought. It has never been endowed for its greater position among cities with its proper government, and for a long time had no government of any kind. This indictment is proved in many ways. It was proved to the House of Commons in 1855 when an attempt, a fatal attempt, was made to give it an experimental form of government. Sir Benjamin Hall summarised the position in the following terms:

"It had a population of 2,233,108; number of inhabited houses 291,240; rateable value £9,011,230, exclusive of the city of London. The number of different local acts in force in the metropolis was about 250, independent of public general acts, administered by not less than 300 different bodies; 137 of these had returned the numbers comprising these bodies, and they amounted to 4738 persons. From the other boards there was not any return; but taking the same average for them, there would be 5710 more persons; so that upon that computation the whole metropolis was governed by no less than 10,448 Commissioners. Besides these there were the following chartered bodies: Lincoln's Inn, Staple Inn, New Inn, Gray's Inn, Furnival's Inn, Charterhouse. There were thirty parishes containing 880,000 inhabitants, and assessed to real property, in 1843, at £3,900,000, which might probably amount to much more than £4,000,000 at the present time; consequently they represented nearly one half of the whole value of the metropolis. On examination it appeared that these parishes were, each of them, governed either wholly, or in part, by Commissioners or trustees, who were self-elected, or elected for life, or both, and therefore in no degree responsible to the ratepayers. The House would naturally ask why all these evils had continued for so long a period of time, and no steps been taken to remedy them. Take the case of St Pancras, one of the greatest instances of abuses that had ever existed in a civilised country. In the year 1834 these parties came to Parliament through their vestry. They desired their vestry to expend money for the purpose of remedying these abuses. The Bill was thrown out in the second reading. In 1837 a similar attempt was made with similar results, but at a heavy cost to the ratepayers. In the year 1851 they were more fortunate. He proposed a Bill which was referred to a Select Committee. It passed through the Committee and was sent up to the House of Lords, where it was thrown out; and from that time to the present no step had been taken, and no step would be taken, to remedy these abuses, because they spent £4000 on the former occasion, and the paving boards, over which they had no control, spent nearly £3000 in defeating the ratepayers, which the ratepayers had likewise to pay. There were two other boards in the metropolis which had great powers of taxation, over which the ratepayers had no control. One of these bodies consisted of the officers appointed under the Metropolitan Buildings Act of 1844, and the other body was the Commission of Sewers. The officers appointed under the Metropolitan Buildings Act consisted of a registrar appointed by the Chief Commissioner of Works, at a salary of £1000; an official referee, at a salary of £1000; and other referees and officers, at salaries making a total of £5510, who were paid partly out of the Consolidated Fund and partly out of the County rate. Besides these, there are fifty-two surveyors appointed by the magistrates in quarter sessions. They have incomes varying from £200 to £1600 per annum, derived from fees, and the total amount received by them in 1853 was no less than £24,364; so that the cost of this establishment to the country and to the ratepayers was just £30,000 per annum, over which there was no control whatever."[1]

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[1] *Hansard's Debates*, 16th March 1855.

At the beginning of this study we were dealing with the conditions of a city-state, the central institution of both Greek and Roman civilisation, to which London owed its origin. At the end we are dealing with the city-institution of London, which is evolved from the wreck of its older life, and which has to face the new conceptions of city life. We find it to be a place of great needs, of stupendous requirements, not of satisfied desires. It looks out into the future, and pauses with halting hopes when it realises what that future needs. On the banks of its noble river; on the pavements of its crowded thoroughfares; in the homes of its working population; in the breathing-spaces which have been preserved in odd corners of its territory; in its many underground structures for drainage, for conveyance, for water supply, and for means of telegraphic communication; in its centres of historic associations — everywhere the absence of the master-mind of organisation is painfully apparent, and London pauses in its hopes to ask what is to take place if all its present needs are to be dealt with as its past needs have been. Royal Commissions and Select Committees have made recommendations over and over again, and they remain recommendations still. A dreary catalogue they make—a catalogue from which it is hardly possible to draw an inspiration.

Inspiration does not readily flow from such sources, and there is plenty of evidence to show that it has not flown. This is best illustrated by the present condition of London government. It apparently needs 3997 members and 586 justices to govern London. The absurdity of such a state of things is obvious when expressed in terms of numbers. It is only a little less obvious when count is taken of the several administrative bodies. Their titles include "Council," "Board," "Authority," "Body," "Board of Management," "Committee," "Commissioners," and their jurisdiction and duties are as varied and intermingled as well could be. London is a county differing widely in every respect from all other counties. Its council administers all the duties transferred from the justices in 1888, and many municipal matters besides, and it is the central governing authority of London. It does not, however, administer all central matters. It shares this with the ancient city of London, with statutory bodies created before 1888, and with statutory bodies created after 1888. The city of London Corporation is market authority, except in one or two cases, as Covent Garden, in private possession of the Duke of Bedford, and some local markets; it is also sanitary authority for the Thames. The Asylums Board is the central poor-law authority and the health authority for infectious sick; the Water Board manages the water supply; the Port Authority administers the docks and the port; the Commissioner of Police controls the police force and has other duties which elsewhere are administered by municipal authorities; two river conservancies are responsible for the Thames and the Lea respectively; the Central Unemployed Body deals with unemployment in London; the Local Pension Committee and the Insurance Committee deal with their respective duties. Underneath all this central government thus unaccountably divided there are local governments—twenty-eight Borough Councils different from all other such councils in the kingdom, thirty-one Boards of Guardians, six Boards of Management for poor-law schools and poor-law sick, besides other specially appointed Committees. The whole makes up a conglomerate which cannot be styled local government, cannot be considered as representative government in any sense. There are so many ill-defined connections between the citizen and his representative that there ceases to be any effective connection at all. And London, the capital of the empire, with a glorious history, is under the heels of many interests, many cliques and parties, which play one against the other and never play for the community.

I have called early Victorian London a domestic city full of scenes which had not disappeared from its midst until the great era of building which began in 1860.[1] It is no use, however, dwelling upon this aspect of modern London. It is not the wholly true aspect. There are thousands of home-dwellers in London, and there will always be such. But these do not count for much. They are the people neglected as not incidental to the real situation. That which really matters is its position as capital city of the

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[1] In my *London 1837–1897*, p. 17.

Empire, the centre of legislation for the nation, the centre of judicial appeal for the entire Empire. Very few Londoners realise what this last feature represents in empire government; very few realise that in the daily law reports of the *Times* they may see appeals from Canada, South Africa, or Australia, cases remitted from the law courts of India to the House of Lords in London. On 25th January 1912 there was an appeal from the judgment of the Judicial Commissioner of Upper Burma reversing a decree of the district court of Magwe, in the matter of Maung Aung Myat, a Twinzayo married to Mi Shive Ma. Not only are these names of strange sound to the ears of Londoners, but the proceedings are stranger still. Lord Macnaghten delivered their Lordships' judgment, and declared strange laws in support of it: that polygamy in Burma was lawful, that it was not unlawful to marry the sister of a living wife, and that marriage with a deceased wife's sister was not only proper but laudable; that the marriage ceremony included many quaint customs, including "eating out of the same pot." After quoting text-books on Buddhist law, their Lordships decided to advise his Majesty that the appeal should be dismissed.[1] The whole case is imperial in the highest sense. English justice is believed in and its decisions willingly obeyed by native races. English judges deal not only with English law but with native law, and London is the centre from which the decisions proceed. They proceed to the homes of people unaccustomed to city life, to whom western civilisation is unknown, and they govern these lives. They govern them in the most important matters—family life, communal life, even temple ritual. London in this respect differs from every other capital city in Europe, and the difference represents its imperial position, a position which it has attained more by reason of its ancient powers, wisely consolidated and utilised, than by the endowment of powers by an external sovereign. She comes to her new imperial position silently and almost unrecognised by record or by history.

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[1] *Times,* 26th January 1912.

We have thus come back, through the blackness just depicted, to London as an empire city. Poe's wonderful phrase, "The grandeur that was Rome," has been translated for us in Mr Stobart's impressive book. "The greatness that was London" belongs to its history, and that greatness still exists in spite of the shame of the Tudors and of the Stuarts, and the shame of the Victorians which has outshamed both Tudors and Stuarts.[1]

To change all this will include the rebuilding of London. Berlin has accomplished such a task, and made itself supremely ugly in the doing. Paris has done it without quite making itself beautiful. London can do it, and make itself beautiful in the doing. Three of the smallest fragments of history which have been already noted and may now be recalled will suffice to teach the way. James I.'s spoken wish for a rebuilding which would result in a beautiful city; Charles II.'s royal command to proceed at once with the task presented by the genius of Wren; Colonel Birch's proposal before Parliament,—these combine in themselves the necessary principles which should govern the making of the future London.

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[1] I have dealt with Victorian London in my little book published in the Victorian Era Series (1898).

There are cities which do not appeal to one. There are those which appeal to every fibre of one's nature. London is of this latter class. In spite of its many deflections from the ideal of continuous history, its record is one long catalogue of praise from visitors, inhabitants, statesmen, poets, painters, and artists. The Romans who looked to it for defence stayed in it for "love of the place." At every stage of its history where such expressions are possible they have been made, and when the change from mediævalism to modernism was accomplished there is not a single foreign traveller who, if he recorded or criticised details, did not also proclaim his feeling for London. London produces a feeling, stands for a soul community, compels people, citizens and visitors alike, to a recognition of qualities and powers which nothing but its history can explain.

CHAPTER XII

THE GREATNESS THAT IS LONDON

I HAVE now finished the story of London's continuity in English history from a great position in Roman history. I have shown that it is continuity of historical influences, not a mere survival of custom and usage. I have shown when and how it lapsed and when and how it revived, and have traced the last echo of that continuity to modern days in the march of the citizen army on its way to the battlefields of South Africa. I have shown that on the great emergency London has answered to the call on her historical influence. There is no city in Europe which has preserved its historical continuity so faithfully as London has preserved hers—not Lyons, Trier, Nîmes, Arles, Turin, not Paris or even Rome herself. If these are continuous by actual occupation; if they show remains of the forum, the bath, the theatre, or even the temple; they show no continuity of historical influences—they are not constitutionally continuous. They may possess here and there a municipal rite, a social custom, but they never reveal their original position as a city-state of the Roman Empire. Their mediæval history is wholly municipal and never contributory to the formation or the government of the state. This, on the contrary, is what London reveals throughout the ages, the something more which is always present. Her prominence as a city-state with more power and influence than a municipal town is shown from time to time, and the silence between the several manifestations is all the more eloquent because of the expression which comes out so strongly and decisively when it is called forth by events. London is the only example of a city-state in modern history exercising her state powers as strongly as her civic powers, in connection with the personal sovereignty of early English and mediæval times, in connection with Parliament in modern times, and in connection with military and other functions at all times. The essential difference between London and other cities beginning in the Roman Empire, lies in the fact that London has acted the part of city-state throughout, in modern as in ancient days. No other city has played this part. It was revolutionary Paris in a sea of blood which helped to form the modern state of France; but it is constitutional London acting continuously and not tumultuously which has performed this service for modern England. A great city in two empires, the Roman and the British, she stands now in front of world changes and developments in which the greatness that is London must be called upon to take its part.

What, then, are the special problems of modern times, problems unknown to the mediævalist, only just beginning to be known to ourselves, problems which affect the history of cities, and of London first and foremost amongst cities? They must be considered from two points of view. The problem of empire comes first—what is the empire of the future in which London will find a place? The problem of the city in relation to empire comes second—what will be the position of London in this new order of things? This is not the place to deal fully with a subject so full of complexity and with such a vast outlook, but it is necessary to state the outlines of the case because it is only within these outlines that we finally bring ourselves to understand what the future position of London may be.

The concentration of human activities and the mastery of civilisation over the productions of the whole world is the note of the future. Its first expression will be the peace of Europe, and this will bring into existence an empire of the West founded not on conquest but on economic justice. The peace of the world will be the policy of the world. Civilisation is moving inevitably in this direction. For the first time in the world's history man has become conscious of the whole world's existence, and becoming conscious he is gradually grasping at the power which lies at his feet. The produce of the whole world at its best centres for each production is now being commanded by methods peculiarly foolish and uneconomical. Capital has risen to the knowledge of this, and has changed its outlook. It has ceased to be nationalised and become cosmopolitan. Labour will soon follow suit, and, instead of fighting capital on the old lines, will learn to assist it on the new, and will then in turn become cosmopolitan. It will assume its right relationship to capital, and capital will correspondingly answer. The world then will become a reality to its civilised inhabitants principally, to its backward races in a less degree. It will be governed not in territorial states by kings and ministers of state, but by kings of capital and kings of labour in combination, and all the glories that the world possesses, the glories of its past history, as of its natural features and beauties, will be at the disposal of its inhabitants. This is not mere idealism. The consolidation of the civilised world is a greater thing than the building up of the nationalities of ancient political states, and it must come; and with it will come the application of civilised methods to bring about the happiness of all within the fold. The science of administration as well as natural science will place at the disposal of this civilisation the food products and the industrial products grown or manufactured wherever it is best for them, and the entire world will be at the command of man's highest needs. The Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, the Euphrates Valley railway, the East African railway, are the material signs of this. Livingstone and Stanley, Cecil Rhodes and General Botha, are the pioneers of it. The Government assistance to grow cotton in Africa is the first economic effort towards it. Political thought and literature are beginning to take note of it in terms which, if hardly commensurate with the true position, are beginning to tell in the same direction. All these factors in combination point towards one goal, one ideal, and human thought thus moved will end in human action. The governing power will have to deal with some ugly problems before it settles down to its peace. Among these will be the problem of race. The relationship of the dominant white race, with its magnificent endowment of the scientific spirit, to the yellow race with its capacity for reaping the full benefits of the white man's science, and to the black race with its intellectual qualifications far in the regions of the unknown—these are the great problems of the future to take the place of the problem of nationality in the past.

The political result will be the formation of a new world empire of the West, and inevitably the mind turns back to the greatest political effort ever made by man, the ancient world empire of Rome. Comparative studies have already begun, and these will continue in the light of actual events. They will show that no slavish copying of details will be possible, and that the only comparison will be in the spirit. A governing power to express the will of loosely knit self-governing units with common economic rules is the ideal of the future. taking all it can from the tremendous lesson of the rise and fall of Rome.

The highest type of the self-governing unit will be the city not the nation. We have been dealing with the problem of historical continuity in the life of London and its great constructive force; and now that we have to touch upon these new problems, with their foundations built on a new ideal altogether, an ideal which travels into quite new interests, new economic conceptions, new political results, it may appear that historical forces will cease to operate. This cannot be; and although it may be difficult after the divergence of the old channels to re-establish the historical note as the dominant note, it would be still more difficult to strike it out altogether. History is a living force not a dead record. And the movement of to-day is in the direction of historical influence. State administration has been the rule since the downfall of the Roman Empire. City administration is going to be the rule in the future. Cities which have only had a municipal existence are going by their intermunicipal connections to have a world existence, by which empires and races, monarchs and statesmen, must in the future be guided. Citizens in the future will not be driven or herded into war, nor into any other of the evils of outworn feudalism and mediævalism. They will have their say, and it will be a powerful say. They will surely echo back the great cry of Virgil when he defined the calamity of war as the bringing about of the great crime of city breaking covenant with sister city—

> "Vicinæ ruptis inter se legibus urbes
> Arma ferunt."[1]

It has been pointed out that the mediæval state was unconscious of the citizen in the great bulk of his requirements. The modern state is unconscious in a different sense, purposely unconscious of the great bulk of requirements of the citizen. In particular the state has not recognised the rise of the city and of citizenship in the new civilisation which is steadily enveloping the western world. This, unfortunately, means that the great community of London, which has massed together interests of gigantic proportions, which answers to modern civilisation for much which civilisation is striving to represent, stands unrecognised. As Arthur Symons so finely puts it, "Cities are like people, with souls and temperaments of their own," and it is not good for the state to ignore the forces within its reach which are ripening into prominence.

The great ideal of the world empire of peace within its boundaries which Virgil saw so clearly must be repeated to answer the needs of modern civilisation. The Roman world was the whole of the then civilisation. The whole of modern civilisation will be the new world empire. It will be governed as Rome was governed, through its cities. The sovereignty of it will be the will of the people. The enemy of it will be the uncivilised races, yellow and black, on its outskirts. The struggle will decide whether the new civilisation, founded on the lines of the Roman civilisation which Virgil has pictured for us, will remain or will crumble beneath the weight of its opponents. The lesson of Rome thus repeated at every stage should lead to something better than decline and fall. The lesson will be learned not from the doings of emperors but from the statesmanship of Rome. The greatest instance of this, the greatest effort at empire-building in all history, is the parcelling out of North Africa among newly founded city-states. We can even at this distance of time measure the magnificence of this act, not so much in the material remains of that magnificence as in the overwhelming evidence of its success. Rome then taught mankind what a world empire could be made and how it could be made. Europe, it is true, did not learn the lesson, and has taken all the intervening centuries to work out its own failure. But it is learning it now, and the progress will be more rapid than is expected.

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[1] *Georgics*, i. 510.

It is perhaps too early to gauge the full extent and force of the new position, but this is the place to note that just as it is being, or has been, discovered that the future centres of man's social and cultured life lie in the cities, the governing authorities of two great cities, and those two cities no other than London and Paris, began a series of exchange visits, which have since been extended to London and

Berlin, London and Vienna, London and Stockholm, and, latest of all, the intermunicipal proposals of the American cities. There has been produced therefrom a sort of intermunicipal conception of things which has hitherto not found a place among the dominant forces of modern civilisation. It is not too much to say that the juxtaposition of theory and practice thus brought about is a remarkable fact which cannot be ignored. Communities of men are governed, as individuals are governed, by all sorts of influences which, working silently and unseen, produce results which are observable for the most part only when they have passed into history and have been subjected to the analysis of scientific inquiry. But the obvious significance of the present position is not a matter of history; it is part of the work of the present day. It is not mere accident that this psychological moment stands revealed so plainly. It is not mere accident that men engaged in the practical affairs of life find themselves for the moment standing aside, and discovering for themselves that at the back of municipal interchange of thought lies a whole realm of usefulness which has hitherto not been opened up to modern municipal ideas. It was partly recognised by the ancient Greek and Roman municipalities; it was faintly recognised by mediæval cities and towns. But if it becomes a concept of the modern system of governance, it is destined to assume far larger proportions than was possible to the older municipalities. At the most, the older idea of municipal interrelationship was strictly limited. The leagues of the Greek cities were limited not only in geography, but in duration. The affiliation of the daughter cities of ancient Rome was marred by the overwhelming greatness of the mother city. The five burghs of Scotland, the league of the Danish towns of England, and the mediæval league of the Cinque Ports only count for a special method of meeting special and local requirements. London and her sister capitals, however, have together begun an entirely new phase. They have discovered in the idiosyncrasies of each other food for reflection and study, while in the common ground occupied by all cities they have found an extension of municipal possibilities whose area and rate of development are scarcely measurable—in a word, they have discovered that municipal problems have to do with people's needs and rights, with some of the most important phases of modern civilisation, and that these may, nay must, be considered apart from the boundaries of nations, and apart from the conflict of national interests. Such a discovery does not rest even at this important stage, for it is obvious that the breakdown of international ignorance and jealousy must follow the establishment of inter-municipal aims and successes, and that in this way the surest path to the peace of civilised humanity has been laid down. This is the message which comes to us from a consideration of past conditions in relation to modern requirements. That it is a great and inspiring message is, I think, self-evident. That it flows from the unique history of London above all the cities of Europe is due to the newly discovered facts in that history which have now been marshalled into something like order for those who will profit by them.

If we are face to face with the supremely important fact that city life is going to be the life of the future, as it was the life of ancient Greece and ancient Rome, it means city expansion and a means of knitting country life into the new developments. The Domesday boroughs, which were the centre of the old shiremen's life, will again become the model of future national life, if the country is wise enough to read the lessons of history aright, wise enough to insist upon reform founded upon principles. Jealousy of the cities will be got rid of. The greatness and special characteristics of London will be understood and then appreciated—must be understood in order to be appreciated. The expansion of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and other expanding cities will be recognised and assisted. But expansion in the new sense will be totally unlike the halting, unregulated expansion of the past. Government from the city and by the city will be the note of the future, and it will include stretches of territory controlled by the city in obedience to the economic and industrial requirements of areas formed by these requirements. The curious and uninteresting policy of forming series of so-called boroughs instead of one great city government will give way to the larger ideal by which the country will be governed not by racial or national ideals but by economic realities, and these will result in the formation of cities with boundaries which include rural as well as urban territory, and which stretch across the whole country, boundary meeting boundary.

The functions of city government will be extended, in order to meet the expansion of city life. The beauty of towns, such a glory of the mediæval borough, will again be insisted upon as a duty which citizens owe to the natural beauties they destroy. Ugliness is a sin, and will be proclaimed so. Some of the old conceptions of Greek cities, and of Rome and Italian cities, will arise in their modern form, and we shall find the noble words of Lucian being suitably applied to modern conditions: "A city in our conception is not the buildings—walls, temples, docks, and so forth; these are no more than the local habitation that provides the members of the community with shelter and safety: it is in the citizens that we find the root of the matter; they it is that replenish and organise and achieve and guard, corresponding in the city to the soul in man. Holding this view we are not indifferent, as you see, to our city's body; that we adorn with all the beauty we can impart to it; it is provided with internal buildings and fenced as securely as may be with external walls. But our first, our engrossing preoccupation, is to make our citizens noble of spirit and strong of body."[1]

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[1] Lucian, *Anacharsis.* This is Fowler's fine translation, iii. 199. Compare Thucydides, lib. ii., cap. xxxviii.

One way of carrying this into effect almost touches upon the declared aspirations of modern thought. Lucian says of Athens: "The city pays for the admission of citizens to the theatre, where the contemplation of ancient heroes and villains in tragedy and comedy has its educational effect of warning and encouragement." In a word, there will be added to the ordinary duties of municipalities the idealism of city life, in order to make it worthy of the civilisation which in its new developments is only just beginning to dawn upon the world.

This double heritage involves a double duty. Such a heritage is worth preserving for local government institutions in the future—local institutions are worth preserving in order to have such a heritage properly administered. When once the citizen of the future has comprehended what his life is to be he will expect great things of it. Municipal wardrobes and tinsel will have to give way to municipal work. Municipal doubts and fears will have to give way to municipal ideals and aspirations. The men and women of London will learn from the men and women of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and others of her sister capital cities; the men and women of Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, and their lesser brethren will learn from Marseilles, Hamburg, Cologne, Buda-Pesth, and the others of like status. Municipalism will tread lightly over national boundaries, and cities will once more become a power in the land.

We now come to the question of London's place in the new order of things. It is singular that a great historian of Roman Britain, Dr Haverfield, should have declared that it will have no place; whereas all my own conclusions, drawn from London in its continuity from the Roman city-state, are diametrically opposed to those of Dr Haverfield. "Roman London," he says, "was the child of those forces of Nature which we sum up in the word geography, and it was also their victim. To their great power the Roman city owed its rise, its three and a half centuries of prosperity, and its fall." Dr Haverfield cannot get over the hundred years during which history was silent, and which are represented by tradition and by survival; and then he adds that to these forces of Nature "London owed its second rise as an English city and the long life which has now lasted a thousand years. But to-day the signs are plain that English London is no more immortal than its Roman predecessor. The discovery of the steam engine, the opening of the Atlantic to ocean-borne traffic, the opening of the English mineral resources to commerce, have shifted the geographical centre of our island from the south-east coast and the Thames to the west and the north. Already, as students of commercial and industrial life know, the metropolis has ceased to represent the most active and prosperous and thickly populated part of England. Indeed, there yawns to-day between London and the north a gulf that is almost a national danger. London may, I suppose, remain, like the political centres of some other European states, the official and administrative capital, and if it loses its pre-eminence its fall will be slow: the death-throes of great cities last through many centuries. But someone will some day shift the English capital northwards, and the government will follow the London newpapers, which have already begun to open their offices in Manchester." This is a long quotation, but it is the first dictum of its kind that has been pronounced. It is founded upon the historical conception of London in juxtaposition with the industrial conditions of modern times—a sufficiently powerful combination to command the closest attention.

Dr Haverfield's historical conception must, in face of the evidence brought together in this book, appear to be singularly narrow. My maximum and his minimum nowhere meet on the historical plane. Suppose by the mere force of reiterated argument the historian cuts off Roman from Saxon London, what does he obtain? Not an English city of the type of York, Colchester, Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln, and the rest of the occupied Roman cities with their manorial and communal land systems; not an English city of native growth from the foundation, of the type presented by Nottingham, Southampton, Malmesbury, Doncaster, and others. He would get an incongruous thing, not to be explained or accounted for by any analogy, any parallel circumstances, which can be sought for in later history, tradition, or institutional survivals. London stands unique in British history, and it is from this position that her history has to be investigated and brought into proper relationship with the state and with other institutions. The greatness of London has not been dimmed, because it does not depend upon one or a dozen factors. Its whole history shows it to be a living organism of extraordinary power at every stage of its exhausting life. Its magnificent development has never been at the bidding of outside forces. Neither monarch nor noble has had a hand in its making. It has made itself, and in the pages in which endeavour has been made to set out the various stages of its evolution the point has over and over again been made.

If Dr Haverfield's retrospect seems wrong, so does his prospect. He has not fully grasped the economic and industrial position. London is the greatest manufacturing city in the kingdom, though evidence of it is submerged in all the other sides of its life. It extends far outside its formal boundaries from the Thames to the sea border. Dover, Southampton, and Harwich are but outports of London. And it is only when the position of London in this extended sense is grasped and understood that its future as a city-institution can be gauged.

The commercialism that was Tudor London has developed into the world-London as one of the great human life-centres. Here, if anywhere, London will refound itself as one of the city-states of modern civilisation which are going to command these operations—not empires and nations, but cities. The greatness that was London is ready to be handed on to serve its new developments, and the conscious note of continuity which has come so strongly from the past will still be effective. As in the past, so in the future, the greatness that is London will be responded to by the great. The unknown hero of A.D. 61; the unnamed of the hundred years; the *sub-reguli* of the seventh century; Ælfred in the ninth century; Eadmund, Cnut, and Harold Godwinsson of the eleventh century; Ansgar the Sheriff; the citizen statesman who led Plantagenet London; the men of Tudor and Stuart times; the lord mayors who forced the issues of Georgian London and invoked the inspired praise of Chatham—all these were the great individuals answering the calls of London's greatness. The answering was always equal to the occasion, and when historically we look back upon men and institution, upon city and citizen, we find London acting faithfully both to its past and its then future. The nation in putting its hand upon London was helped towards its own development; and when the great moment again arrives for cities to be fighting the issues that lie before them, there will be statesmen and citizens to represent the issues, and London will take her place in the new development. She will be a different London in a different world; perhaps she will be the capital city of the new world.

Whatever the result, London will be the centre, as she has been the centre all these centuries, of the new institutions which will come into existence. It will not be a small uncared-for London, not a London shrinking within its walls and commanding nothing but the fragments of its former greatness —the greatness that was London. She will be a great London with a territorium stretching from the Thames to the sea, endowed with powers of self-government within the empire to which she belongs.

London at this stage is about to displace her history by the necessities of modern life. She will be a city governed by state law entirely, governed to produce certain results in the health and general good of her inhabitants according to the dicta of science in determining what is public health and public good. She will work alongside of other cities, gaining and imparting the lessons of experience. The old order has at last completely changed. Not even the fragments of immemorial custom, strewn as we have discovered across the pages of London records, will survive. London is to be a new London. And in taking up her new position she will not ungladly learn the best that is to be learned of her great past, which has been the province of this book to unravel.

APPENDIX

I (p. 30)

The *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlii. pp. 269–302, contains an excellent article on "Early Sites and Embankments on the Margins of the Thames Estuary," by Mr F. C. J. Spurrell. The geological evidence is carefully examined and its relationship to the archæological finds stated very clearly, and though subsequent research has added fresh material to both sections of the study it would not appear to vary considerably the conclusions drawn by Mr Spurrell. The Romans were very busy in the Thames. Pottery, including Samian ware, is found in layers and scattered over the foreshore and banks of the river (p. 276). At Higham the Roman potteries covered the land for about three miles along the edge of the marsh (p. 277). The general level of the pottery works is about eleven feet down (p. 279). Nowhere has Saxon pottery been seen or heard of (p. 280). At Barking on the edge of the Roding there are remains of a large prehistoric camp. This camp is a waterside camp, but is wholly above tidal level; it appears to have been of the order of camps of refuge for women, children, and cattle, surrounded by swamps to which its protection was mainly left; at the north-east corner is a watch mound which rises scarcely fifteen feet above the average level of the camp (p. 297). At Crayford is the barest outline of an oval camp (p. 297).

II (p. 62)

The following passages from Wren's *Parentalia* afford additional information on the point of view adopted by Wren:

"It has been before observ'd (Sect. 1) that the Graves of several Ages and Fashions in strata, or Layers of Earth one above another, particularly at the North-side of Paul's, manifestly shew'd a great Antiquity from the British and Roman Times, by the Means whereof the ground had been raised; but upon searching for the natural Ground below these Graves, the Surveyor observed that the Foundation of the old Church stood upon a layer of very close and hard Pot-earth, and concluded that the same Ground which had born so weighty a Building might reasonably be trusted again. However, he had the Curiosity to search further, and accordingly dug Wells in several Places, and discern'd this hard Pot-earth to be on the North-side of the Churchyard about six Feet thick, and more, but thinner and thinner towards the South, till it was upon the declining of the Hill scarce four Feet: still he searched lower, and found nothing but dry Sand, mix'd sometimes unequally, but loose, so that it would run through the Fingers. He went on till he came to Water and Sand mixed with Periwincles and other Sea-shells; these were about the level of Low-water Mark. He continued boreing till he came to hard Beach, and still under that, till he came to the natural hard Clay, which lies under the City, and Country, and Thames also far and wide.

"By these Shells it was evident the Sea had been where now the Hill is, on which Paul's stands.

"The Surveyor was of opinion, the whole Country between Camberwell-hill, and the Hills of Essex might have been a great Frith or Sinus of the Sea, and much wider near the Mouth of the Thames, which made a large Plain of Sand at Low-water, through which the River found its way; but at Low-water, as oft it happened in Summer-weather, when the Sun dried the Surface of the Sand, and a strong Wind happened at the same time, before the Flood came on, the Sands would drive with the Wind, and raise Heaps, and in Time large and lofty Sand-hills; for so are the Sand-hills raised upon the opposite Coasts of Flanders and Holland. The Sands upon such a Conjuncture of Sun-shine and Wind, drive in visible Clouds: this might be the effect of many Ages, before History, and yet without having Recourse to the Flood.

"This mighty broad Sand (now good Meadow) was restrained by large Banks still remaining, and reducing the River into its Channel; a great Work, of which no History gives account: the Britains were too rude to attempt it; the Saxons too much busied with continual Wars; he concluded therefore it was a Roman Work; one little Breach in his Time cost 17,000£ to restore.

"The Sand-hill at Paul's in the Time of the Roman Colony, was about 12 Feet lower than now it is; and the finer Sand easier driving with the Wind lay uppermost, and the hard Coat of Pot-earth might be thus made; for Pot-earth dissolved in Water, and view'd by a Microscope, is but impalpable fine Sand, which with Fire will vitrify; and, of this Earth upon the Place were those Urns, Sacrificing Vessels, and other Pottery-ware, made, which (as noted before) were found here in great Abundance, more especially towards the North-east of the Ground.

"In the Progress of the Works of the Foundations, the Surveyor met with one unexpected difficulty; he began to lay the Foundations from the West-end, and had proceeded successfully through the Dome to the East-end, where the Brick-earth Bottom was yet very good; but as he went on to the North-east Corner, which was the last, and where nothing was expected to interrupt, he fell, in prosecuting the design, upon a Pit, where all the Pot-earth had been robb'd by the Potters of old Time: here were discovered Quantities of Urns, broken Vessels, and Pottery-ware of divers Sorts and Shapes; how far this Pit extended Northward, there was no occasion to examine; no Ox-sculls, Horns of Stags, and Tusks of Boars were found, to corroborate the Accounts of Stow, Camden, and others; nor any Foundations more Eastward. If there was formerly any Temple to Diana, he supposed it might have been within the Walls of the Colony, and more to the South" (Wren's *Parentalia*, MDCCL., pp. 285–6).

"The extent of the Roman Colony, or Præfecture, particularly

Northward, the Surveyor had occasion to discover by this Accident. The parochial Church of St Mary le Bow, in Cheapside, required to be rebuilt after the great Fire: the Building had been mean and low, with one corner taken out for a Tower, but upon restoring that, the new Church could be rendered square. Upon opening the ground, a Foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended Fabrick, which (on further Inspection, after digging down sufficiently, and removing what Earth or Rubbish lay in the way) appear'd to be Walls with the Windows also, and the Pavement of a Temple, or Church, of Roman Workmanship, intirely bury'd under the Level of the present Street. Hereupon, he determin'd to erect his new Church over the old; and in order to the necessary regularity and Square of the new Design, restor'd the Corner; but then another place was to be found for the Steeple: the Church stood about 40 Feet backwards from the high Street, and by purchasing the Ground of one private House not yet rebuilt, he was enabled to bring the Steeple forward so as to range with the Street-houses of Cheapside. Here, to his Surprise, he sunk about 18 Feet deep through made-ground, and then imagin'd he was come to the natural Soil, and hard Gravel, but upon full Examination, it appear'd to be a Roman Causeway of rough Stone, close and well rammed, with Roman Brick and Rubbish at the Bottom, for a Foundation, and all firmly cemented. This Causeway was four Feet thick (the thickness of the Via Appia, according as Mons. Montfaucon measur'd, it was about three Parisian Feet, or three Feet two Inches and a half English). Underneath this Causeway lay the natural Clay, over which that part of the City stands, and which descends at least forty Feet lower. He concluded then to lay the Foundation of the Tower upon the very Roman Causeway, as most proper to bear what he had design'd, a weighty and lofty Structure.

"He was of opinion for divers Reasons, that this High-way ran along the North Boundary of the Colony. The Breadth then North and South, was from the Causeway, now Cheapside, to the River Thames; the Extent East and West, from Tower

Hill to Ludgate, and the principal middle Street, or Prætorian Way, was Watling Street.

"The Colony was wall'd next the Thames, and had a Gate there called Dow-gate, but anciently Dour-gate, which signified the Water-gate.

"On the North side, beyond the Causeway, was a great Fen, or Morass, in those Times; which the Surveyor discover'd more particularly when he had occasion to build a new East-front to the parochial Church of St Laurence near Guildhall; for the Foundation of which, after sinking seven Feet, he was obliged to pile twelve Feet deeper; and if there was no Causeway over the Bog, there could be no reason for a Gate that Way.

"At length about the Year 1414, all this moorish ground was drain'd by the Industry and Charge of Francerius, a Lord-mayor, and still retains the name of Moor-fields, and the Gate, Moorgate. London-stone, as is generally suppos'd, was a pillar, in the Manner of the Milliarium Aureum, at Rome, from whence the Account of their Miles began; but the Surveyor was of Opinion by Reason of the large Foundation, it was rather some more considerable Monument in the Forum; for in the adjoining Ground on the South Side (upon digging for Cellars, after the Great Fire) were discovered some tessellated Pavements, and other extensive Remains of Roman Workmanship, and Buildings.[1]

"On the West-side was situated the Prætorian Camp, which was also wall'd in to Ludgate, in the Vallum of which, was dug up near the Gate, after the Fire, a Stone, with an Inscription, and the Figure of a Roman Soldier, which the Surveyor presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent it to Oxford, and it is reposited among the Arundellian Marbles. This is a sepulchral Monument dedicated to the Memory of Vivius Marcianus, a Soldier of the second Legion, stil'd Augusta, by his Wife Januaria Matrina. The Inscription is in this Manner:

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[1] Probably this might in some degree have imitated the Milliarium Aureum at Constantinople, which was not in the Form of a pillar as at Rome, but an eminent Building; for under its Roof (according to Cedrenus and Suidas) stood the Statues of Constantine and Helena; Trajan; an equestrian Statue of Hadrian; a Statue of Fortune; and many other Figures and Decorations.

D. M.
VIVIO MARCI
—ANO ML. LEG. II.
AVG. IANVARIA
MATINA CONIVNX
PIENTISSIMA POSV
—IT ME MORRAM.

"*N.B.*—The Extract of this Inscription published in the Marmora Oxoniensia, Numb. 147, is erroneous.

"The Soldiers used to be buried in Vallo, as the Citizens, extra Portas in Pomærio; there 'tis most probable the extent of the Camp reached to Ludgate, to the declining Hill, that Way. The Surveyor gave but little Credit to the common Story, that a Temple had been here to Diana (which some have believed upon the report of the digging up, formerly, and of later Years, Horns of Stags, Ox-heads, Tusks of Boars, etc.), meeting with no such indications in all his Searches; but that the North-side of this Ground had been very anciently a great Burying-place was manifest; for upon the digging the Foundations of the present Fabrick of St Paul's he found under the Graves of the latter ages, in a row below them, the Burial Places of the Saxon Times: the Saxons as it appeared, were accustomed to line their Graves with Chalk-stones, though some more eminent were entomed in Coffins of whole Stones. Below these were British Graves, where were found Ivory and Wooden Pins, of a hard Wood seemingly Box, in Abundance, of about 6 Inches long; it seems the Bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen Shrouds, which being consumed, the Pins remained entire. In the same row and deeper, were Roman Urns intermixed: This was eighteen Feet deep or more, and belonged to the Colony when Romans and Britains lived and died together.

"The most remarkable Roman Urns, Lamps, Lacrymatories, and Fragmants of Sacrificing-vessels, etc., were found deep in the Ground, towards the North-east Corner of St Paul's Church, near Cheapside; these were generally well wrought, and embossed with various figures and devices, of the Colour of the modern red Portugal Ware, some brighter like Coral, and of a Hardness equal to China Ware, and as well glaz'd. Among divers Pieces which happened to have been preserved, are, a Fragment of a Vessel, in Shape of a Bason, whereon Charon is represented with his Oar in his Hand receiving a naked Ghost; a paters sacrificalis with an inscription PATER. CLO., a remarkable small Urn of a fine hard earth, and leaden Colour, containing about half a pint; many Pieces of Urns with the names of the Potters embossed on the Bottoms, such as, for instance, ALBUCI. M.[1] VICTORINUS. PATER. F.[2] MOSSI. M. OF.[3] NIGRI. AO. MAPILII. M., etc., a sepulchral earthen Lamp, figured with two Branches of Palms, supposed Christian; and two Lacrymatories of Glass.

"Among the many Antiquities the Surveyor had the fortune to discover in other parts of the Town, after the Fire, the most curious was a large Roman Urn, or Ossuary of Glass, with a handle, containing a Gallon and half, but with a very short Neck, and wide Mouth, of whiter Metal, encompassed Girthwise, with five parallel Circles. This was found in Spital-fields, which he presented to the Royal-society, and is preserved in their Museum" (Wren's *Parentalia*, MDCCL., pp. 265–267).

III (p. 63)

In *Strype's Additions to Stow* (vol. ii., Appendix, chapter v.) is a description of the Woodward collection which will form a useful addendum to the text.

"Of divers Roman and other antique Curiosities found in London, before and since the great Fire.

"There are preserved, either in public Repositories, or in more private Custody, many antique Curiosities: Found chiefly in Digging Foundations for the Building of London after the great Fire, and occasionally at other Times.

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[1] Manibus. [2] Fecit. [3] Officina.

"In the Repository of the Royal Society in Gresham College, there is a large Glass Urn, that holds about a Gallon; and hath a few Shivers of Bones in it: It was taken up since the Fire in Spittlefields. The Glass is somewhat thick, bellying out, and contracting towards the Mouth with a Lip.

"But the Collection, made by Dr John Woodward, Professor of Physic in Gresham College, is by much the most considerable of any. For, besides an ancient marble Bust of Jupiter, a marble Head with a Phrygian Tiara, a Grecian Basso-Relievo, a Votive Shield, exhibiting the Sacking of Rome by the Gauls; the Embossment of which is allowed by the greatest Judges to be the finest and most exquisite that all Antiquity has left us: Several Icunculi of the Deities, both Egyptian and Roman: a considerable Variety of Amulets, Periapta, Phalli, Bullæ, Scarabæi: Gems with historical Sculpture, Heads, etc. graven upon them: Camei and Intaglia's of Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman Work: Many Roman, Greek, Syrian, and other Medals: Roman Weights: A Roman Semi-Congius: Urns, Lachrymatories, and other Things, procured from Alexandria, Constantinople, Rome, etc. And, besides, an ancient Roman Altar from the Picts Wall in Northumberland, with a considerable Inscription upon it: Several ancient Weapons of Brass, Thuribula, Pateræ, Urns, etc., found in the remoter Parts of this Kingdom, Cumberland, the Isle of Man, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Devonshire, etc. He has a vast Variety of ancient Instruments, Utensils, Vasa, and the like, that have been discovered in several Places in and about this City: In particular, several Vessels of religious Use, and employed in the Sacrifices, as, for Example, Præfericula, Simpula, Pateræ, Thuribula, Labra, digged up; together with Horns, Teeth, and other Parts of the Beasts that were offered in Sacrifice; above twenty Sepulchral Urns, of various Forms and Sizes: Likewise, Lances, Amphoræ, Crateres, Scyphi, Gutti, Pocula, Ollæ nummariæ clausæ; Parts of the Plasmatafictilia, in which the embossed Vasa were moulded; and Lamps of various Sorts. The precedent Vessels are of Pot or Earth; several of them extremely fine, well baked, some curiously glazed, and the Colours very beautiful.

"As to their Forms, they are universally very elegant and handsome. And, indeed, the Doctor, the Possessor of them, well observes, that the Remains of these Works of the Romans shew them to have been a People of an exact Genius, good Fancy, and curious Contrivance.

"It is observable also in this Collection, that the Things are fair, well preserved, and intire; which, considering the great Number and Diversity of them, how brittle Pots and Glasses are, and how liable to be defaced, injured, and dashed in Pieces, is the more extraordinary.

"He hath likewise, in his Cabinet of Antiquities, a Glass Urn, with a Cover; also a Scyphus; divers Ampullæ, Phialæ, and Lachrymatories of Glass, that are very fair and perfect. Then, there are several Pieces of British Money, coined both before and after the Descent of the Romans upon this Island. As also Roman Numismata, coined here: Besides, Saxon, Danish, and Norman Coins, which, as well as others, are very fair, and happily preserved. Likewise, Styles of Ivory, Bone, and Steel: Several Fibulæ, Aciculi, Bullæ, Claves, Armillæ, Annuli, Beads of various Sorts; Aleæ, Tessaræ, Pectines, Calcaria, Spicula, Jacula. Likewise Tiles, Pieces of Lithostrata, or tessellated Pavements of Earth, Glass, Paste, Enamel, and gilt.

"So that Dr Woodward's Museum is a Treasury of all Sorts of Commodities and Utensils, sacred and profane, of ancient Heathen Rome: As Vessels for Sacrifice, and for other subordinate Uses *in Sacris.* Vessels also for Uses Domestic, Sepulchral, Military, Personal, for Wearing and Dressing: Also divers Pieces of Art relating to Building, or Sculpture, explanatory of some Parts of Roman History.

"Besides these Remains of Roman Skill and Workmanship, here are also reposited several Gothic historical Carvings, in

Copper, Ivory, and Wood; the Work of some of them very good: Impresses on Lead, and leaden Seals, that have been affixed anciently to Popes Bulls; with various other Things, all well chosen, of real Importance, and serviceable to some useful Design.

"One great Intention of this learned Gentleman, as he hath assured me, in amassing together so great a Number of these Things, and that with so great Diligence, Trouble, and Expense, was in Order to clear and give Light to those ancient writers who mention and treat of them, viz. the Greeks and Romans; which he has read and studied with great Exactness. Another of his Ends herein was, to illustrate the History and Antiquities of this great and noble City; out of the Ruins of which these Things were retrieved, upon the Occasion of that great Digging, greater indeed than ever happened from the Foundation of it before, and the Removal of Rubbish that was made in all Parts, after the late great Fire. And, indeed, the Medals and Coins, the various Figures, historical Embossments, and Inscriptions upon the Vases, contribute very much to that End. And farther, from the various Places in which the Urns were found reposited, which, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables, were to be buried without the Walls, he is able to ascertain the ancient Bounds of this City, whilst Roman: From several Things discovered in laying the Foundation of St Paul's Church, to shew, not only that there was anciently a Temple there; but also, by some Instances to prove that it was dedicated to Diana, according to the ancient Tradition, notwithstanding what a very learned Antiquary, as well as Divine, has lately offered to the Contrary.

"Indeed, the far greater Part of these Things is so very considerable, that it would afford much Satisfaction to inquisitive People, to see Icons graved of them; and that the Possessor could have spared so much Time from his Business, and his other Studies, as to have writ his own Observations and Reflections upon them, that I might have entered them, as I requested him, in this Work.

"Near the Foundation of Charing Cross, at a great Depth, were Stones found, which seemed to be a sort of coarse Marble, of a blackish Colour, and cut into several plain Sides, but iregular: From whence, saith Dr Crew, they may be argued to be very ancient. These were given by Sir Joseph Williamson to the Museum in Gresham College.

"In Mark Lane a strange Brick was found 40 Years before, or better, about 20 Feet deep in the Ground, by Mr Stockley, while he was digging a Foundation and Cellars for an House which he built for Mr Woolly. On this Brick was formed Sampson, as I had it from J. Bagford, with the Jaw-bone of an Ass in his right Hand, and his left Hand lifted up; with two Foxes before him, running together, with Firebrands at their Tails; scaring them into high standing Corn hard by. This, methinks, might have belonged to the House of some Jew dwelling thereabouts; signifying his Malice to some neighbouring Christian Merchant that dealt in Corn. For it is remarkable, that, near this Place where this Brick was found, was also digged up burnt Wheat, to the Quantity of many Quarters; very black, but yet sound: Probably it was some Granary consumed by Fire.

"But take what the said Mr Bagford hath since writ in his Letter to Mr Hearne of Oxford: That this Brick was of Roman Make, of a curious red Clay, and in Bass-relief; and was a Key Brick to the Arch: And the burnt Wheat was conjectured to have lain buried ever since the Burning of the City 800 Years before. And that it is preserved in the Museum belonging to the Royal Society in Fleet Street. And that Mr Waller's Conjecture of it was, that it had been made and set there by some Jew, settling here, in the Arch of his own Granary.

"A Piece of Mosaic Work found deep under Ground in Holborn near St Andrew's Church, inlaid with black, white, and red Stones in Squares, and other regular Figures. In the abovesaid Museum.

"In digging for the Foundations of St Paul's Cathedral at the west End since the Fire, was found Variety of Roman sacrificing Vessels, whereof a great Quantity of the Fragments were digged up. They were made of a curious red Earth; the Glazing of them still remains, which is curious. They are of divers Shapes and Sizes, as Occasion should require them to be made Use of in their Sacrifices. And, in many, the Potter's Name was stamped at the Bottom. Some of these Mr Bagford, a Citizen of London, studious of Antiquities, and especially of such as relate to the said City, took up with his own Hands. Farther, on the south Side of the said west End was found a Potter's Kiln, the Shape of which was circular. In this the abovesaid sacrificing Vessels probably were made. It was near to the Temple where Diana was worshipped, for the more Convenience of the People that came thither to sacrifice; that they might be furnished with all Sorts of Vessels they had Occasion for, at the Time when they made their Sacrifices. And likewise thereabouts were found several Moulds of Earth, some exhibiting Figures of Men, of Lions, of Leaves of Trees, and other Things. These were used to make Impression of those Things upon the Vessels. These Moulds are also among the forementioned curious Collections of Dr Woodward. The Representation of the foresaid Pottery, drawn with a Pen, is in the Possession of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., M.D., of the Royal Society, with a Description of it added.

"Also, at the south Side of St Paul's Church, at the Beginning to build it after the Fire, were found several Scalps of Oxen, and a large Quantity of Boars Tusks, with divers earthen Vessels, especially Pateræ of different Shapes.

"In Cannon Street, nigh Bush Lane, was found, pretty deep in the Earth, a large Pavement of Roman Mosaic Work. Dr Hook gave a Piece of it to the Repository in Gresham College.

"In Goodman's Fields, without Aldgate, was a Roman Burying-place. For, since the Buildings there, about 1678, have been found there, in Digging for Foundations, vast Quantities of Urns, and other Roman Utensils, as Knives, Combs, etc., which are likewise in the Possession of Dr Woodward. Some of these Urns had Ashes of Bones of the Dead in them, and Brass and Silver Money: And an unusual Urn of Copper, curiously enamelled in Colours, red, blue, and yellow.

"In Kent-street, all along the Gardens on the right Hand Side of the Road, going out of Town, have been digged up several Roman Vessels, as Urns, Ampullæ, and other Things; and among the rest, an Head of Janus, cut in Stone, that is still preserved, being placed over the Door at the Entry of one of those Gardeners Houses. Money was offered for this Janus's Head, but it would not be taken; being kept superstitiously, as tho' it were found by Revelation in a Dream; a Woman, about the Time it was found, dreaming, she was brought to Bed of a Child with two Faces.

"At Peckham was a very large Urn of Glass digged up in the Highway, which is now in Gresham College. For these last Accounts I am beholden to my Friend, the abovesaid Mr Bagford, late deceased in the Charter-house, having been a brother there.

"In April, in the Year 1707, divers Roman Antiquities were found in digging by the Wall near Bishopsgate within. Mr Joseph Miller, an Apothecary, living very near the Place, while the Labourers were digging for Foundations and Cellars, for some new Houses to be built in Camomile-street, did first discover several of these Antiquities; which he communicated to Dr Woodward of Gresham College aforesaid: Who, according to his wonted Exactness, gave this Narration of them in a Letter to Sir Christopher Wren, which he courteously let me peruse: 'About four Feet under Ground was discovered a Pavement, consisting of diced Bricks, the most red, but some black, and others yellow: each somewhat above an Inch in Thickness. The Extent of the Pavement in Length was uncertain, it running from Bishopsgate for sixty Feet, quite under the Foundation of some Houses not yet pulled down. Its Breadth was about ten Feet, terminating on that Side, at the Distance of three Feet and a half from the Wall.

"'Sinking downwards under the Pavement, only Rubbish occurred for about two Feet, and then the Workmen came to a Stratum of Clay in its natural State: In which, at the Depth of three Feet more, were found several Urns. Some of them were become so tender and rotten, that they easily crumbled and fell to Pieces. As for those that had the Fortune better to escape the Injuries of Time, and the Strokes of the Workmen, they were of different Forms; but all of very handsome Make and Contrivance, as, indeed, most of the Roman Vessels we find ever are: Which is but one of the many Instances that are this Day extant of the Art of that People, of the great Exactness of their Genius, and Happiness of their Fancy. These Urns were of various Magnitudes; the largest capable of holding three full Gallons, the least somewhat above a Quart. All these had in them Ashes and Cinders of burnt Bones.

"'Along with the Urns were found various other earthen Vessels; as, a Simpulus, a Patera of a very fine red Earth, and a bluish Glass Phial of that Sort that is commonly called a Lachrymatory. On this there appeared something like Gilding, very fine.'

"There were likewise found several Beads, one or two Copper Rings, a Fibula of the same Metal, but much impaired and decayed; as also a Coin of Antoninus Pius, exhibiting on one Side the Head of that Emperor, with a radiated Crown on, and this Inscription, ANTONINUS AUG . . .

"At about the same Depth with the Things beforementioned but nearer to the City Wall, and without the Verge of the Pavement, was digged up an human Skull, with several Bones that had not been burnt, as those in the Urns had: But, for a larger and more satisfactory Account of these Antiquities, I refer the Reader to the said learned Doctor's Letter, now printed at large by Mr Hearne, with Leland's Itinerary, in Octavo.

"An Elephant's Body was found in a Field near to Sir John Oldcastle's, not far from Battle-bridge, by Mr John Coniers, an Apothecary, and a great Searcher after Antiquities, as he was digging there.

"Some Years ago, on the south Side of Ludgate, was taken up, out of the Rubbish, a Roman Inscription, taken notice of by learned Men.

"Coming in at Ludgate, in the Residentiary's Yard of St Paul's, was discovered some Years ago an Aqueduct, close adjoining to the Wall of the City. And such another was found after the Fire by Mr Span in Holyday yard in Creed lane, in digging the Foundation for a new Building; and this was carried round a Bath, that was built in a Roman Form, with Niches at an equal Distance for Seats.

"Anno 1716, in digging for the Foundation of a new Church, to be erected where the Church of St Mary Woolnoth in Lombard-street stood, at the Depth of about 15 Feet, and so lower to 22 Feet, were found Roman Vessels, both for sacred and domestic Uses, of all Sorts, and in great Abundance, but all broken: And withal were taken up Tuske and Bones of Boars and Goats; as also many Medals and Pieces of Metals; some tesselated Works, a Piece of an Aqueduct; and at the very Bottom a Well filled up with Mire and Dirt; which being taken away, there arose a fine Spring of Water. Dr Harwood, of the Commons, has been very exact in taking Notice from Time to Time of these Antiquities; and hath sorted and preserved a great many of the most curious and remarkable of them; and supposeth, by probable Conjecture, that here was not only a Pottery, but also, that on this Place, or near it, stood the Temple of Concord; which our Roman Historians speak of to have been in this City, when called Trinobantum. These Sheards were in such vast Quantities, that many Cart-loads were carried away with the Rubbish, and the Roads about St George's Fields in Southwark mended with them.

"Anno 1718, in the Month of May, the Workmen, pulling down a Wall at Bridewel Hospital, found a Gold Ring an Inch and a Quarter broad, enamelled: Having the Resemblance of Christ on the Cross engraved on it, with a mourning Heart, and a Pillar with a Cock on the Top. The Inscription was in Arabic; and some Antiquaries who saw it, reckoned it to be

1500 Years since it was made. This is related in the Weekly Journal, No. 1047.

"This is what I could, by diligent Enquiry of my Friends, collect, concerning Antiquities found in London."

IV (p. 88)

A complement to the poem quoted in the text (p. 88) is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon version of the Beowulf Saga. Dr Stjerna's valuable essays on Beowulf recently translated by Mr Clark Hall for the Viking Club suggest that the text as we have it is an Anglo-Saxon writing of an older tradition, and he gives good evidence of this. Incidentally he points out that the hiding-place for treasure "was a huge treasure-house supported by stone arches resting on pillars or columns, and that the exterior of the dragon's abode is several times called a wall," and that this idea "is easily explainable if it originated in England, which had been occupied only two centuries before by the vault-building Romans. The construction of the hall is said to have been the work of giants. The Anglo-Saxon conception of giants was that of a strange, remote, half-legendary people of high technical skill. When the Romans evacuated England they drew away to the south for ever, and it was natural that the monuments they left behind them should be regarded as the work of a race which had disappeared from England and who were endowed with extraordinary technical skill" (pp. 37, 38).

V (p. 185)

Sir Walter Raleigh believed whole-heartedly in the schemes which were to begin England's extension of Empire and to pour the riches of the new world into London. Writing on the 13th November 1595 to Sir Robert Cecil, he says: "You may perceive that it is no dream which I have reported of Guiana, and if one image have been brought from thence weighing 47 kintalls, which cannot be so little worth as 100 thousand pounds, I know that in Manoa there are store of these. I know it will be presently followed both by the Spanish and French, and if it be foreslowed by us I conclude that we are curst of God. In the meantime I humbly beseech you to move Her Majesty that none be suffered to foil the enterprise, and that those kings of the borders which are by my labour, peril, and charge won to Her Majesty's love and obedience be not by other pilferers lost again. I hope I shall be thought worthy to direct those actions that I have at my own charge laboured in, and to govern that country which I have discovered and hope to conquer for the Queen without her cost. I am sending away a bark to the country to comfort and assure the people, that they despair not nor yield to any composition with other nations" (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Hatfield House*, v. p. 457). The queen herself was the centre of the movement, as the correspondence of the period shows. "The company and associate adventurers into Russia and other the north east parts for the discovery of new trades" were in difficulties in 1515, and letters to Sir Robert Cecil give most interesting details of the transactions of the company (*ibid.*, p. 462).

VI (p. 202)

It is curious that just at this time a discovery at Woolwich revives the interest in the shipping of this date. The discovery consists of parts of a large wooden ship. It is not yet established whether they are the remains of a sixteenth-century man-of-war, such as the *Great Harry*, or of an eighteenth-century merchantman, unknown and unhonoured.

The facts stated in the text dispose of the theory of it being Drake's ship, the *Pelican*, though it may be another ship of his fleet. The *Times* states the case as follows:—

"The first announcement of the finding of the ship appeared in the *Times* so long ago as 19th November 1912, when it was stated that a section, about thirty feet wide and in a good state of preservation, was unearthed during excavations on the site of the new electricity station of the Woolwich Borough Council on the south bank of the Thames. The place was immediately visited by the late Sir William White, formerly Assistant Controller of the Navy and Director of Naval Construction, who examined the remains and expressed the opinion that the vessel had been there about a hundred and fifty years. In January last the notice of the Committee of the London County Council who are interested in local government records and antiquities was called to the remains. They sent a representative to Woolwich, who took photographs of the ship while it was being excavated, and made measurements of its parts.

"The matter has now been revived by Mr Seymour Lucas, R.A., who painted 'The Armada in Sight.' He has inspected the timbers, and is convinced they are the remains of an early sixteenth-century ship of war, probably the *Great Harry*, which was burnt to the water's edge and taken to the dock built at Woolwich in 1521, where the hull sank. He says:

"'Although little is known of the construction of these ships of this early date, the closeness of the ribs, the size of the keelson as seen in the photographs, are absolutely irrefutable evidence of the date of the hull. I was shown two wheels, evidently those of a gun-carriage of the time of Henry VIII. or of the early years of Elizabeth, some stone cannon-balls, and some pieces of Elizabethan pottery, all of which had been taken out of the hull. Of course, an antiquary would probably have obtained much additional evidence if he could have been present during the excavations. When I arrived the timbers of the wreck were being carted away to Castles' timber-yard.'

"The timbers have been bought by Messrs Hindleys, architectural decorators, Welbeck Street, who are disposed to believe, on the testimony of an expert in naval history, that they are rather the remains of the *Pelican*, which was long preserved at Deptford, as a monument of Drake's voyage, and is supposed to have been removed to Woolwich some time in the eighteenth century. Therefore the difficult question of the identity of the ship remains to be solved" (*Times*, 9th December 1913).

VII (p. 211)

Eltham Palace is well worth an extra note in a book on London, and I quote from the *Times* of 19th April 1913 the following facts:—

"Eltham Palace, where the Office of Works is now carrying out an interesting scheme of preservation, stands on the brow of a green slope looking westwards towards the hills of Greenwich and South London. The most attractive route to Eltham is from Greenwich—a walk of about four miles. This route leads us through Greenwich Park, past the Observatory, and out on Blackheath at the end of the chestnut avenue. Slanting leftwards across the Heath, for the lowest corner past the further pond, we turn through a wicket-gate and follow a path under trees. On the right stands Morden College—one of the most perfect minor examples of Wren's building, placed in delightful gardens open to the public. The path comes out on the road at Kidbrooke church; and on the other side of the road a field-path leads on to Eltham.

"The glories of Eltham as a residence of English sovereigns began to fade when Henry VIII. transferred his affections to the palace at Greenwich. But apart from any sentimental associations which Henry VIII. may have left for his birthplace, the supersession of the old palace on the hill by the new one by the waterside was almost inevitable. Eltham was a Royal manor as early as Saxon times, and probably a very ancient settlement; the name itself is said to mean 'old home' or dwelling. It lies high and dry on the Blackheath pebble-beds, in just the open and well-drained situation where early settlers would cluster. The Domesday record shows it well supplied with arable land in proportion to its woodland and meadow, as we should expect in a site of this kind, but with no mill. There is no stream which could easily be made to turn one. As long as the flats beneath the hill at Greenwich were a tidal marsh, the Eltham plateau was a far preferable position; but the reclamation of the Thames shore brought Greenwich closely in touch with London by the natural highway of the river.

"James I. was the last monarch who is known to have visited it, and after the death of Charles I. it was ordered to be sold for the benefit of the public. The survey taken at this time gives an idea of the extent of the palace buildings as late as the seventeenth century. It states that the 'capital mansion called Eltham House' consisted of 'one fair chapel, a great hall, thirty-six rooms, and offices below stairs, with two cellars; above stairs, seventeen lodging rooms on the King's side, twelve rooms on the Queen's side, and nine on the Prince's, with various other necessary rooms and closets. Also thirty-five bays of building, containing seventy-eight rooms used as offices round the courtyard.' The report adds that only the great hall and the chapel were then furnished, and that the whole was very much out of repair. Every trace above ground of the chapel has now vanished, though excavation would probably show its foundations; it formed, no doubt, a convenient quarry for builders in a district where there is no building stone close at hand. It stood between the gateway and the great hall, and was twisted out of the general plan of the building in order to give it the proper orientation. The hall was spared because its great size made it useful for a barn, but the glass and stonework perished, and the windows were later blocked up with brick. Besides this noble building, of which the fifteenth-century timber roof is one of the most beautiful in England, the most important remains within the area enclosed by the moat are the retaining wall of the terrace and the lower courses of some of the dwelling rooms next to the moat, which apparently escaped complete destruction owing to their being sunk beneath the level of the soil above. Under the floor of these rooms there still exists in very fair repair a covered way to a private bridge built for himself by Henry VIII., just above the level of the water, out to the park beyond. On the opposite side of the palace the main bridge of four pointed arches leading from the outer court to the inner gatehouse still spans the moat. On three sides the dry bed of the moat now forms part of the garden of the private residence which stands next to the hall; and an engraving in Lysons's *Environs of London*, published in 1796, shows in front of the gateway only a narrow pool of water stopping short of the bridge. Now the water extends for the full length of the moat on this side, though not for its exceptional original breadth of a hundred feet; and the moat and old bridge, with a glimpse of the great hall beyond, form a singularly delightful picture.

"A plan preserved among the family papers at Hatfield gives a great deal of information about the arrangement of the whole area inside the moat, and the Record Office has another plan of the buildings in the two outer courts beyond the bridge. From these plans, together with such details as that given in the Commonwealth survey and the records of historic visits, it can be well understood that there was good reason for a hall of ample size. When Henry VIII. kept Christmas here, as he did more than once in plague years, apparently for the sake of safe retirement, we are told that only his personal attendants were allowed to dine with him in the hall. But in earlier reigns the palace must often have been crowded with the retinues of the King and Queen and of princes and nobles, who were each assigned their several suites of chambers, and met together in chapel and in hall. There were several successive palaces or Royal dwellings upon this site; we hear of Christmas being kept on the country cheer of Eltham by Henry III., who may have built the first of them. This thirteenth-century palace was either enlarged or rebuilt by Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, who retained it after the rightful owner fell at Bannockburn, and returned it at his own death to the Crown. The date of the present hall is fortunately fixed by the survival of accounts of expenditure on it for a specified fortnight in the autumn of 1479.

"More than four hundred years have passed, for many of which the rain had free entry through the ruined windows, and the hall now stands in urgent need of repair. The work already undertaken on it includes the removal of the rough brickwork, with which the empty windows had been filled for the protection of the interior against the weather, and the restoration of the original design. The Reigate stone used by the fifteenth-century builders has in places weathered very badly; and this is being replaced by more durable stone where it is decayed. The work is being carried out with scrupulous taste and care. Owing to the ample design of the windows, the solid structure of the walls was from the first hardly sufficient to take the weight of the roof securely. In the course of centuries of neglect the roof has opened and spread until the centre of the beams no longer follows a true line, and the windows have been forced out of position. The distortion is hardly noticeable on a general view from below, but introduces grave difficulties in restoring the design. In the great southern bay at the west end of the hall, when one of the vanished mullions of the oriel window came to be replaced, it was found that it would no longer meet the shaft of the surviving tracery above. In another part of the same oriel window the restored tracery would not fit the widened curve of the arch. No attempt has been made either to introduce sham fifteenth-century work of twentieth-century construction or to distort the new work necessary for the preservation of the structure into an imitation of the gradual warping of time. The new work inserted in the walls and windows to prevent further decay is frankly dated '1912,' though—unlike most of the previous repairs on the spot—it is carefully subordinated to what is old. Where the tracery would not meet the replaced mullion, it has been supported as it stands, and left a few inches out of the true line, but safe for the future. Where the spread arch is too wide for the replaced tracery, the design has not been falsified by widening it, but a narrow fillet of stonework has been interposed to fill the gap. Owing to the original slightness of the stonework, and subsequent neglect, the work of repair has been one of extreme delicacy. The defaced vaulting of one of the bays was successfully held in place while its supports were being strengthened, when a slip of a fraction of an inch would have brought it down. A large proportion of the stones in the windows, and of those in the bridge spanning the moat, are now held individually in place by copper ties. In every case where it has been necessary to insert modern work, the architect in charge of historic buildings under the Office of Works and the Inspector of Ancient Monuments have aimed at keeping it subordinate to the original design, and in harmony with it, while not attempting to conceal its modern date.

"The same scrupulous judgment is shown in the work progressing on other parts of the old palace. Where the brick bays overhanging the dry moat on the west were hacked away within the swing of a man working a pickaxe, they have been underpinned here and there by inserting old bricks of the same mellow redness. The colour of the brickwork about the palace is one of its great charms; and a method of pointing has been devised which spares all its delicacy, while repairing it as effectually as the ugliest cement or plaster. Roughcast of a carefully chosen consistency is dabbed in, and then worked over with a wet brush, until the coarser grit stands out with a surface and colour which blend harmoniously with the brick. The effect is extremely good, and the method might well be copied by all who cherish old but decayed brick walls. A curious feature of the old garden, outside the moat, is a row of niches in the wall, in which brasiers were probably placed to protect the fruit-blossom on frosty spring nights. They were blocked with plaster, which has now been removed. Much care and labour have been spent on the bridge, which threatened to collapse under stress of the heavy motor traffic of the last few years. By bonding the stones with copper, and grouting the interior with liquid cement, the whole bridge will practically become a monolith, and will offer secure resistance to any form of traffic. An incidental result of this work was the discovery of the pit of the old drawbridge. Another important piece of consolidating work is being carried out where the retaining wall of the terrace had slipped forward on a layer of clay and threatened to fall into the moat. The clay bed has been excavated, and replaced by one of cement, which should prevent any further travels.

"The work already done is of the utmost value in safeguarding the remains of this palace against further decay, and revealing their beauties more fully. But the hall, which is the peculiar glory of the spot, is still in an extremely unsafe state, and urgently needs thorough repair. The heavy roof continues to thrust out the walls, and some of its own beams are very much decayed. Their rottenness makes them a wholly inadequate support for the iron ties which were inserted as a measure of safety some years ago; and it is impossible to trust to them any longer."

VIII (p. 258)

Wren was so great a Londoner that it might have been imagined that care should have been taken of his house in Botolph Lane. But it has reached its last stages, as the following letter to the *Times*, 15th April 1913, indicates: "The last remnants of this house, which, by tradition, was designed, built, and occupied by the great architect as his residence in the city of London during the patching up of the old and the construction of the present St Paul's Cathedral, have been acquired to-day through purchase by Alderman Sir Charles Wakefield. The grand staircase with wall panelling, the doorways with curved pediments and elaborate mouldings, and the grand landing complete the detail of the acquisition, which is to find a new home on this side of the Atlantic. Some account of the building, which was condemned in 1906 as a 'dangerous structure,' appeared in the *Architectural Review*, vol. xix., and the staircase is pictured in Mr Walter Godfrey's *The English Staircase*, edition MCMXI." (*Times*, 15th April 1913).

IX (p. 280)

It is curious that specimens of the tapestries referred to in the text have only recently been added to the national collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The *Times* of 25th July 1913 gives the following description :—

"One of these is a Mortlake tapestry of the first half of the seventeenth century. The tapestry forms one of a set of six representing the history of Hero and Leander, which were woven between the years 1623 and 1636 from the cartoons of Francis Clein, or Cleyn, who died in 1658, a native of Rostock, who was employed for many years as a designer for the Mortlake factory. In the bottom right-hand corner is the mark of Sir Francis Crane, who died in 1636, the first director of the Mortlake factory. The tapestry is woven in wool and silk on woollen warps. The body of Leander lies on the rocky shore near a circular tower. Hero kneels beside him holding up her hands in unrestrained grief, and a female attendant behind stands sorrowing with her hands clasped together. Cupid holding the torch is seated on a rock to the right. The sun is rising over the sea in the distance. The broad border is filled with strapwork, intertwined with garlands of flowers and leaves which are supported by diminutive winged boys. There is a medallion in each corner, and another in the middle of each side: the former contain figures of winged boys (perhaps the Winds); that in the top border is plain; those on the left and right represent Hero clasping the body of Leander while a male figure endeavours to pull her away, and a figure of Neptune riding on the waves. The medallion at the bottom encloses the inscription, 'Luget amor nutrixque gemit moritura marita dum ruit in laceri naufraga membra viri.' The second of these tapestries was woven at Lambeth about 1670-80, and represents a scene from the story of Troy. It is woven in wool, silk, and silver thread on woollen warps. It most probably represents the seizure of Cassandra by Agamemnon during the sack of the city, with the earlier episode of her rape from the temple of Minerva seen in the background (Virgil's *Æneid*, ii. 403–6). The shield-of-arms of the Earl of Meath, with the motto 'Vota [rendered as Vata] Vita Mea,' occupies the middle of the upper border. The design of this tapestry is probably due to Francis Clein. The words 'Made at Lambeth' are woven into the lower border. It was probably made by William Benood, a tapestry-weaver of that place."

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